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MILTON'S

ODE ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY, L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO AND LYCIDAS.

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MILTON'S

ODE ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY, L'ALLEGRO, IL PENSEROSO AND LYCIDAS

BY

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NOTE.

THE text of the poems in this volume has been prepared from that of the first edition (1645), compared with the second edition (1673). I have to thank the Council of Trinity College for permission to inspect the MS. of *Lycidas;* it has enabled me to give what is, I hope, an accurate account of the variant readings in the poem.

The edition of Milton's Prose Works to which reference is made throughout (under the abbreviation 'P. W.') is that published in Bohn's 'Standard Library.'

A. W. V.

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INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF MILTON.

MILTON'S life falls into three clearly defined divisions. The first period ends with the poet's return from Italy in 1639; the second at the Restoration in 1660, when release from the fetters of politics enabled him to remind the world that he was a great poet, if not a great controversialist; the third is brought to a close with his death in 1674. The poems given in the present volume date from the first of these periods; but we propose to summarise briefly the main events of all three.

The three periods in Milton's life.

John Milton was born on December 9, 1608, in London. He came, in his own words, *ex genere honesto*. A family of Miltons had been settled in Oxfordshire since the reign of Elizabeth. The poet's father had been educated at an Oxford school, possibly as a chorister in one of the College choir-schools, and imbibing Anglican sympathies had conformed to the Established Church. For this he was disinherited by his father. He settled in London, following the profession of scrivener. A scrivener combined the occupations of lawyer and law-stationer. It appears to have been a lucrative calling; certainly John Milton (the poet was named after the father) attained to easy circumstances. He married about 1600, and had six children, of whom several died young. The third child was the poet.

Born 1608; the poet's father.

The elder Milton was evidently a man of considerable culture, in particular an accomplished musician, and a com-

poser[1] whose madrigals were deemed worthy of being printed side by side with those of Byrd, Orlando Gibbons and other leading musicians of the time. To him, no doubt, the poet owed the love of music of which we see frequent indications in the poems.[2] Realising, too, that in his son lay the promise and possibility of future greatness, John Milton took the utmost pains to have the boy adequately educated; and the lines *Ad Patrem* show that the ties of affection between father and child were of more than ordinary closeness.

Early training.

Milton was sent to St Paul's School as a day scholar about the year 1620. He also had a tutor, Thomas Young, a Scotchman, who subsequently became Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. More important still, Milton grew up in the stimulating atmosphere of cultured home-life. This was a signal advantage. There are few who realise that the word 'culture' signifies anything very definite or desirable before they pass to the University; for Milton, however, home-life meant, from the first, not only broad interests and refinement, but active encouragement towards literature and study. In 1625 he left St Paul's. He was not a precocious genius, a 'boy poet,' such as Chatterton. Of Milton's extant English poems[3] only one, *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, was written in his school-days. But his early training had done that which was all-important: it had laid the foundation of the far-ranging knowledge which makes *Paradise Lost* unique for diversity of suggestion and interest.

At Cambridge.

Milton entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, commencing residence in the Easter term of 1625. Seven years were spent at the University. He took his B.A. degree in 1629, proceeded M.A. in 1632, and in the latter year

[1] See the article on him in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*.

[2] Milton was especially fond of the organ; see note on *Il Penseroso*, 161. During his residence at Horton Milton made occasional journeys to London to hear, and obtain obstruction in, music.

[3] His paraphrases of *Psalms* cxiv, cxxxvi, scarcely come under this heading.

left Cambridge. His experience of University life had not been wholly fortunate. He was, and felt himself to be, out of sympathy with his surroundings; and whenever in after-years he spoke of Cambridge[1] it was with something of the grave *impietas* of Gibbon who, unsoftened even by memories of Magdalen, complained that the fourteen months spent at Oxford were the least profitable part of his life. Milton, in fact, anticipates the laments that we find in the correspondence of Gray, addressed sometimes to Richard West and reverberated from the banks of the Isis. It may, however, be fairly assumed that, whether consciously or not, Milton owed a good deal to his University; and it must not be forgotten that the uncomplimentary and oft-quoted allusions to Cambridge date for the most part from the unhappy period when Milton the politician and polemical dogmatist had effectually divorced himself at once from Milton the scholar and Milton the poet. A poet he had proved himself before leaving the University. The short but exquisite ode *At a Solemn Music*, and the *Nativity Hymn*[2] (1629), were already written.

[1] That Milton's feeling towards the authorities of his own college was not entirely unfriendly would appear from the following sentences written in 1642. He takes, he says, the opportunity to "acknowledge publicly, with all grateful mind, that more than ordinary respect which I found, above many of my equals, at the hands of those courteous and learned men, the Fellows of that college wherein I spent some years; who, at my parting after I had taken two degrees, as the manner is, signified many ways how much better it would content them that I would stay; as by many letters full of kindness and loving respect, both before that time and long after, I was assured of their singular good affection towards me."—*Apology for Smectymnuus*, *P. W.* III. 111. Perhaps Cambridge would have been more congenial to Milton had he been sent to Emmanuel College, long a stronghold of Puritanism. Dr John Preston, then Master of the College, was a noted leader of the Puritan party; see his *Life* by Thomas Ball, printed in 1885 by Mr E. W. Harcourt from the MS. at Newnham Court.

[2] See later, p. xxiv.

The five years (1632—1637) spent at Horton.

Milton's father had settled[1] at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Thither the son retired in 1632. He had gone to Cambridge with the intention of qualifying for some profession, perhaps the Church[2]. This purpose was soon given up, and when Milton returned to his father's house he seems to have made up his mind that there was no profession which he cared to enter. He would choose the better part of studying and preparing himself, by rigorous self-discipline and application, for the far-off divine event to which his whole life moved.

The key to Milton's life.

It was Milton's constant resolve to achieve something that should vindicate the ways of God to men, something great[3] that should justify his own possession of unique powers—powers of which, with no trace of egotism, he proclaims himself proudly conscious. The feeling finds repeated expression in his prose; it is the guiding-star that shines clear and steadfast even through the mists of politics.

[1] As tenant of the Earl of Bridgewater, according to one account; but probably the tradition arose from Milton's subsequent connection with the Bridgewater family.

[2] Cf. Milton's own words, "The Church, to whose service by the intention of my parents and friends I was destined of a child, and in my own resolutions." What kept him from taking orders was not, at first, any difference of belief, but solely his objection to Church discipline and government. "Coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the church, that he who would take orders must subscribe slave.....(I) thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing."—*Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 482. Milton disliked in particular the episcopal system, and spoke of himself as "Church-outed by the prelates."

[3] Cf. the second sonnet; "How soon hath Time." Ten years later (1641) Milton speaks of the "inward prompting which grows daily upon me, that by labour and intent study, which I take to be my portion in this life, joined with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to after times, as they should not willingly let it die." *Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 477, 478.

He has a mission to fulfil, a purpose to accomplish, no less than the most fanatic of religious enthusiasts; and the means whereby this end is to be attained are fourfold: devotion to learning, devotion to religion, ascetic purity of life, and the pursuit of σπουδαιότης or "excellent seriousness" of thought.

This period of self-centred isolation lasted from 1632 to 1637. Gibbon tells us among the many wise things contained in that most wise book the *Autobiography*, that every man has two educations: that which he receives from his teachers and that which he owes to himself; the latter being infinitely the more important. During these five years Milton completed his second education; ranging the whole world of classical antiquity and absorbing the classical genius so thoroughly that the ancients were to him what they afterwards became to Landor, what they have never become to any other English poet in the same degree, even as the very breath of his being; learning, too, all of art, especially music, that contemporary England could furnish; wresting from modern languages and literatures their last secrets; and combining these vast and diverse influences into a splendid equipment of hard-won, well-ordered culture. The world has known many greater scholars in the technical, limited sense than Milton, but few men, if any, who have mastered more things worth mastering in art, letters and scholarship[1]. It says much for the poet that he was sustained through this period of study, pursued *ohne Hast, ohne Rast*, by the full consciousness that all would be crowned by a masterpiece which should add one more testimony to the belief in that God who ordains the fates of men. It says also a very great deal for the father who suffered his son to follow in this manner the path of learning[2].

[1] Milton's poems with their undercurrent of perpetual allusion are the best proof of the width of his reading; but interesting supplementary evidence is afforded by the commonplace book discovered in 1874, and printed by the *Camden Society*, 1876. It contains extracts from about 80 different authors whose works Milton had studied.

[2] Cf. the poem *Ad Patrem*, 68—72, in which Milton thanks his father for not having forced him to be a merchant or lawyer.

True, Milton gave more than one earnest of his future fame. The dates of the early pieces—*L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Arcades*, *Comus* and *Lycidas*—are not all certain; but probably each was composed at Horton before 1638. We must speak of them elsewhere. Here we may note that four of them have great autobiographic value as an indirect commentary, written from Milton's coign of seclusion, upon the moral crisis through which English life and thought were passing, the clash between the careless hedonism of the Cavalier world and the deepening austerity of Puritanism. In *L'Allegro* the poet holds the balance almost equal between the two opposing tendencies. In *Il Penseroso* it becomes clear to which side his sympathies are leaning. *Comus* is a covert prophecy of the downfall of the Court-party, while *Lycidas* openly "foretells the ruine" of the Established Church. The latter poem is the final utterance of Milton's lyric genius. Here he reaches, in Mr Mark Pattison's words, the high-water mark of English verse; and then—the pity of it—he resigns that place among the *lyrici vates* of which the Roman singer was ambitious, and for nearly twenty years suffers his lyre to hang mute and rusty in the temple of the Muses.

Milton's lyric verse; its relation to contemporary life.

The composition of *Lycidas* may be assigned to the year 1637. In the spring of the next year Milton started for Italy. He had long made himself a master of Italian, and it was natural that he should seek inspiration in the land where many English poets, from Chaucer to Shelley, have found it. Milton remained abroad some fifteen months. Originally he had intended to include Sicily and Greece in his travels, but news of the troubles in England hastened his return. He was brought face to face with the question whether or not he should bear his part in the coming struggle; whether without self-reproach he could lead any longer this life of learning and indifference to the public weal. He decided as we might have expected that he would decide, though some good critics see cause to regret the decision. Milton puts his

Travels in Italy; close of the first period in his life.

Cause of his return to England.

position very clearly. "I considered it," he says "dishonourable to be enjoying myself at my ease in foreign lands, while my countrymen were striking a blow for freedom." And again: "Perceiving that the true way to liberty followed on from these beginnings, inasmuch also as I had so prepared myself from my youth that, above all things, I could not be ignorant what is of Divine and what of human right, I resolved, though I was then meditating certain other matters, to transfer into this struggle all my genius and all the strength of my industry."

The summer of 1639 (July) found Milton back in England. Immediately after his return he wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis*, the beautiful elegy in which he lamented the death of his school friend, Diodati. *Lycidas* was the last of the English lyrics: the *Epitaphium*, which should be studied in close connection with *Lycidas*, the last of the long Latin poems. Thenceforth, for a long spell, the rest was silence, so far as concerned poetry. The period which for all men represents the strength and maturity of manhood, which in the cases of other poets produces the best and most characteristic work, is with Milton a blank. In twenty years he composed no more than a bare handful of Sonnets, and even some of these are infected by the taint of political *animus*. Other interests filled his thoughts—the question of Church-reform, education, marriage, and, above all, politics.

The second period, 1639—1660. Milton abandons poetry.

Milton's first treatise upon the government of the Established Church (*Of Reformation touching Church-Discipline in England*) appeared in 1641. Others followed in quick succession. The abolition of Episcopacy was the watch-word of the enemies of the Anglican Church—the *delenda est Carthago* cry of Puritanism, and no one enforced the point with greater eloquence than Milton. During 1641 and 1642 he wrote five pamphlets on the subject. Meanwhile he was studying the principles of education. On his return from Italy he had undertaken the training of his nephews[1].

Pamphlets on the Church and Education.

[1] Edward and John Phillips, sons of Milton's only sister. Both subsequently joined the Royalist party. To Edward Phillips we owe a memoir of the poet.

This led to consideration of the best educational methods; and in the *Tractate of Education*, 1644, Milton assumed the part of educational theorist. In the previous year, May, 1643, he married[1]. The marriage proved, at the time, unfortunate. Its immediate outcome was the pamphlets on Divorce. Clearly he had little leisure for literature proper.

Marriage.

The finest of Milton's prose works, the *Areopagitica*, a plea for the free expression of opinion, was published in 1644. In 1645[2] he edited the first collection of his poems. In 1649 his advocacy of the anti-royalist cause was recognised by the offer of a post under the newly appointed Council of State. His bold vindication of the trial of Charles I., *The Tenure of Kings*, had appeared

Political Pamphlets. Appointment to Latin Secretaryship.

[1] His wife (who was only seventeen) was Mary Powell, eldest daughter of Richard Powell, of Forest Hill, a village some little distance from Oxford. She went to stay with her father in July 1643, and refused to return to Milton; why, it is not certain. She was reconciled to her husband in 1645, bore him four children, and died in 1652, in her twenty-seventh year. No doubt, the scene in *P. L.* x. 909—946, in which Eve begs forgiveness of Adam, reproduced the poet's personal experience, while many passages in *S. A.* must have been inspired by the same cause.

[2] i.e. old style. The volume was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company under the date of October 6th, 1645. It was published on Jan. 2, 1645—6, with the following title-page:

"*Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, compos'd at several times. Printed by his true Copies. The Songs were set in Musick by Mr. Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's Chappel, and one of His Majesties private Musick.*

'————*Baccare frontem*
Cingite, ne vati noceat mala lingua futuro.' VIRG. *Ecl.* 7.

Printed and publish'd according to Order. London, Printed by Ruth Raworth, for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at the signe of the Princes Arms in Pauls Churchyard. 1645."

From the prefatory Address to the Reader it is clear that the collection was due to the initiative of the publisher. Milton's own feeling is expressed by the motto, where the words "*vati futuro*" show that, as

earlier in the same year. Milton accepted the offer, becoming Latin[1] Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. There was nothing distasteful about his duties. He drew up the despatches to foreign governments, translated state-papers, and served as interpreter to foreign envoys. Had his duties stopped here his acceptance of the post would, I think, have proved an unqualified gain. It brought him into contact with the first men in the state[2], gave him a practical insight into the working of national affairs and the motives of human action; in a word, furnished him with that experience of life which is essential to all poets who aspire to be something more than "the idle singers of an empty day." But unfortunately the secretaryship entailed the necessity of defending at every turn the past course of the revolution and the present policy of the Council. Milton, in fact, held a perpetual brief as advocate for his party. Hence the endless and unedifying controversies into which he drifted; controversies which wasted the most precious years of his life, warped, as some critics think, his nature, and eventually cost him his eyesight.

The advantage of the post.

Its disadvantage.

Between 1649 and 1660 Milton produced no less than eleven pamphlets. Several of these arose out of the publication of the famous *Eikon Basilike*. The book was printed in 1649 and created so extraordinary a

Milton's writings on behalf of the Commonwealth.

he judged, his great achievement was yet to come. The volume was divided into two parts, the first containing the English, the second the Latin poems. *Comus* was printed at the close of the former, with a separate title-page to mark its importance.

[1] A Latin Secretary was required because the Council scorned, as Edward Phillips says, "to carry on their affairs in the wheedling, lisping jargon of the cringing French." Milton's salary was £288, in modern money about £900.

[2] There is no proof that Milton ever had personal intercourse with Cromwell, and Mr Mark Pattison implies that he was altogether neglected by the foremost men of the time. Yet it seems unlikely that the Secretary of the Committee should not have been on friendly terms with some of its members, Vane, for example, and Whitelocke.

sensation that Milton was asked to reply to it. This he did with *Eikonoklastes*, introducing the wholly unworthy sneer at Sidney's *Arcadia* and the awkwardly expressed reference to Shakespeare[1]. Controversy of this barren type has the inherent disadvantage that once started it may never end. The Royalists commissioned the Leyden professor, Salmasius, to prepare a counterblast, the *Defensio Regia*, and this in turn was met by Milton's *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*, 1651, over the preparation of which he lost what little power of eyesight remained[2]. Salmasius retorted, and died before his second *farrago* of scurrilities was issued: Milton was bound to answer, and the *Defensio Secunda* appeared in 1654. Neither of the combatants gained anything by the dispute; while the subsequent development of the controversy in which Milton crushed the Amsterdam pastor

His blindness.

[1] See *L'Al.* 133—134, note. It would have been more to the point to remind his readers that the imprisoned king must have spent a good many hours over La Calprenède's *Cassandre*.

[2] Perhaps this was the saddest part of the episode. Milton tells us in the *Defensio Secunda* that his eyesight was injured by excessive study in boyhood: "from the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever left my lessons and went to bed before midnight. This was the first cause of my blindness." Continual reading and writing must have increased the infirmity, and by 1650 the sight of the left eye had gone. He was warned that he must not use the other for book-work. Unfortunately this was just the time when the Commonwealth stood most in need of his services. If Milton had not written the first *Defence* he might have retained his partial vision. The choice lay between private good and public duty. He repeated in 1650 the sacrifice of 1639. "In such a case I could not listen to the physician, not if Æsculapius himself had spoken from his sanctuary; I could not but obey that inward monitor, I know not what, that spoke to me from heaven.....I concluded to employ the little remaining eyesight I was to enjoy in doing this, the greatest service to the common weal it was in my power to render" (*Second Defence*). By the Spring of 1652 Milton was quite blind. He was then in his forty-fourth year. The allusion in *P. L.* III. 21—26, leaves it doubtful from what disease he suffered, whether cataract or amaurosis. Throughout *S. A.* there are frequent references to his affliction.

and professor, Morus, goes far to prove the contention of Mr Mark Pattison, that it was an evil day when the poet left his study at Horton to do battle for the Commonwealth amid the vulgar brawls of the market-place:

> "Not here, O Apollo,
> Were haunts meet for thee."

The Restoration releases Milton from politics. Return to poetry.

Fortunately this poetic interregnum in Milton's life was not destined to last much longer. The Restoration came, a blessing in disguise, and in 1660 the ruin of Milton's political party and of his personal hopes, the absolute overthrow of the cause for which he had fought for twenty years, left him free. The author of *Lycidas* could once more become a poet[1].

Should Milton have kept apart from political life?

Much has been written upon this second period, 1639—1660, and a word may be said here. We saw what parting of the ways confronted Milton on his return from Italy. Did he choose aright? Should he have continued upon the path of learned leisure? There are writers who argue that Milton made a mistake. A poet, they say, should keep clear of political strife: fierce controversy can benefit no man: who touches pitch must expect to be, certainly will be, defiled: Milton sacrificed twenty of the best years of his life, doing work which an underling could have done and which was not worth doing: another *Comus* might have been written, a loftier *Lycidas:* that literature should be the poorer by the absence of these possible masterpieces, that the second greatest genius which England has produced should in a way be the "inheritor of unfulfilled renown," is and must be a thing entirely and terribly deplorable. This is the view of the purely literary critic. Mr Mark Pattison writes very much to this effect.

One reply to this question.

[1] We have not attempted to trace the growth of Milton's political and religious opinions: "Through all these stages," Mr Mark Pattison writes, "Milton passed in the space of twenty years—Church-Puritan, Presbyterian, Royalist, Independent, Commonwealth's man, Oliverian." To illustrate this statement would need many pages.

The opposite view.

There remains the other side of the question. It may fairly be contended that had Milton elected in 1639 to live the scholar's life apart from "the action of men," *Paradise Lost*, as we have it, could never have been written[1]. Knowledge of life and human nature, insight into the problems of men's motives and emotions, grasp of the broader issues of the human tragedy, all these were essential to the author of an epic poem; they could only be obtained through commerce with the world; they would have remained beyond the reach of a recluse. Dryden complained that Milton saw nature through the spectacles of books: we might have had to complain that he saw men through the same medium. Fortunately it is not so: and it is not so because at the age of twenty-two he threw in his fortunes with those of his country; like the diver in Schiller's ballad he took the plunge which was to cost him so dear. The mere man of letters will never move the world. Æschylus fought at Marathon: Shakespeare was practical to the tips of his fingers; a better business man than Goethe there was not within a radius of a hundred miles of Weimar.

Milton's own opinion.

This aspect of the question is emphasised by Milton himself. The man he says, "who would not be frustrate of his hope to write well hereafter in laudable things, ought himself to be a true poem, that is, a composition and pattern of the best and honourablest things, *not*[2] *presuming to sing high praises of heroic men or famous cities, unless he have within himself the experience and the practice of all that which is praiseworthy.*" Again, in estimating the qualifications which the writer of an epic such as he contemplated should possess, he is careful to include "insight into all seemly and generous arts and *affairs*[3]."

How politics may have influenced the poet.

Truth usually lies half-way between extremes: perhaps it does so here. No doubt, Milton did gain very greatly by breathing awhile the larger air of public life, even though that air was often tainted by

[1] This is equally true of *S. A.*

[2] The italics are not Milton's.

[3] *Reason of Church Government*, *P. IV.* II. 481.

miasmatic impurities. No doubt, too, twenty years of eristic unrest must have left their mark even on Milton. In one of the very few places[1] where he "abides our question," Shakespeare writes:

> O! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
> The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
> That did not better for my life provide,
> Than public means, which public manners breeds:
> Thence comes it that my name receives a brand;
> And almost thence my nature is subdu'd
> To what it works in, like the dyer's hand.

Milton's genius was subdued in this way. If we compare him, the Milton of the great epics and of *Samson Agonistes*, with Homer or Shakespeare—and none but the greatest can be his parallel—we find in him a certain want of humanity, a touch of narrowness. He lacks the large-heartedness, the genial, generous breadth of Shakespeare; the sympathy and sense of the *lacrimæ rerum* that even in *Troilus and Cressida* or *Timon of Athens* are there for those who have eyes wherewith to see them. Milton reflects many of the less gracious aspects of Puritanism, its intolerance, want of humour, one-sided intensity. He is stern and austere, and it seems natural to assume that this narrowness was to a great extent the price he paid for two decades of ceaseless special pleading and dispute. The real misfortune of his life lay in the fact that he fell on evil, angry days when there was no place for moderate men. He had to be one of two things: either a controversialist or a student: there was no *via media*. Probably he chose aright; but we could wish that the conditions under which he chose had been different.

From the Restoration to Milton's death.

The last part of Milton's life, 1660—1674, passed quietly. At the age of fifty-two he was thrown back upon poetry, and could at length discharge his self-imposed obligation. The early poems he had never regarded as a fulfilment of the debt due to his Creator;

[1] *Sonnet* CXI.

even when the fire of political strife burned at its hottest Milton never lost sight of the purpose which had been with him since his boyhood. The main difficulty lay in the selection of a suitable subject. He wavered between themes drawn from the Scriptures and others taken from the history of his own country. For a time he was evidently inclined to choose the Arthurian story[1], the only cycle of events in British history or legend which seems to lend itself naturally to epic treatment. Had he done so we should have lost the *Idylls of the King*. The rough drafts of his projected schemes, now among the Milton MSS.[2] at Trinity College, shew that exactly ninety-nine possible themes occupied his thoughts from time to time; but even as early as 1641 the story of the lost Paradise began to assume prominence. Still, even when the subject was definitively chosen, the question of its treatment—dramatic or epic—remained. Milton contemplated the former. He even commenced work upon a drama of which Satan's address to the sun in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*[3] formed the exordium. These lines were written about 1642. Milton recited them to his nephew Phillips at the time of their composition. Possibly had Milton not been distracted and diverted from poetry by political and other interests he might from 1642 onwards have continued this inchoate drama

His great work; the subject and treatment.

[1] This project is not mentioned among the schemes enumerated in the Trinity MSS. Cf. however, the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 162—178, and the poem *Mansus*, 80—84. See also the note on *Comus*, 826—841. Among Milton's prose works was a *History of Britain*, written for the most part about 1649, but not printed till 1670. In it he used the materials collected for his abandoned epic on the story of King Arthur.

[2] They include the original drafts of *Arcades*, *Comus*, *Lycidas*, and some of the minor poems, together with Milton's notes on the design of the long poem he meditated composing, and other less important papers. The MSS. were presented to Trinity by a former member of the college, Sir Henry Newton Puckering, who died in 1700. It is not known how they originally came into his possession.

[3] Bk. IV. ll. 32 *et seq.*

and thus produced a dramatic epic akin to *Samson Agonistes*. As things fell out, the scheme was dropped, and never taken up again. When he finally addressed himself to the composition of *Paradise Lost* he had decided in favour of the epic or narrative form.

Following Aubrey (from Aubrey and Phillips most of our information concerning Milton is derived) we may assume that Milton began to write *Paradise Lost* about 1658. He worked continuously at the epic for some five years. It was finished in 1663, the year of his third[1] marriage. Two more years, however, were spent in the necessary revision, and in 1665 Milton placed the completed poem in the hands of his friend Thomas Ellwood[2]. In 1667 *Paradise Lost* was issued from the press[3]. Milton received £5. Before his death he was paid a second instalment, £5. Six editions of the poem had been published by the close of the century.

Paradise Lost begun.

The poem published.

When Ellwood returned the MS. of *Paradise Lost* to Milton

[1] Milton's second marriage took place in the autumn of 1656, i.e. after he had become blind. His wife died in February, 1658. Cf. the *Sonnet*, "Methought I saw my late espoused saint," the pathos of which is heightened by the fact that he had never seen her.

[2] Cf. the account given in Ellwood's *Autobiography:* "after some common discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his; which, being brought, he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me and read it at my leisure, and, when I had so done, return it to him with my judgment thereupon. When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem which he intituled *Paradise Lost*."

[3] The delay was due to external circumstances. Milton had been forced by the plague to leave London, settling for a time at Chalfont St Giles in Buckinghamshire, where Ellwood had taken a cottage for him. On his return to London, after "the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed," the Great Fire threw everything into disorder; and there was some little difficulty over the licensing of the poem. For these reasons the publication of *Paradise Lost* was delayed till the autumn of 1667 (Masson).

he remarked: "Thou hast said much here of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of Paradise found?" Possibly we owe *Paradise Regained* to these chance words; or the poem, forming as it does a natural pendant to its predecessor, may have been included in Milton's original design. In any case he must have commenced the second epic about the year 1665. *Samson Agonistes* appears to have been written a little later. The two poems were published together in 1671.

Paradise Regained: Samson Agonistes.

In giving this bare summary of facts it has not been our purpose to offer any criticism upon the poems. It would take too much space to show why *Samson Agonistes* is in subject-matter the poet's threnody over the fallen form of Puritanism, and in style the most perfectly classical poem in English literature; or again, why some great writers (among them Coleridge and Wordsworth) have pronounced *Paradise Regained* to be in point of artistic execution the most consummate of Milton's works—a judgment which would have pleased the author himself since, according to Phillips, he could never endure to hear *Paradise Regained* "censured to be much inferior to *Paradise Lost*." The latter speaks for itself in the rolling splendour of those harmonies which Lord Tennyson has celebrated and alone in his time equalled.

In 1673 Milton brought out a reprint of the 1645 edition of his *Poems*, adding most of the sonnets[1] written in the interval. The last four years of his life were

Close of Milton's life.

[1] The number of Milton's sonnets is twenty-three (if we exclude the piece on "The New Forcers of Conscience"), five of which were written in Italian, probably during the time of his travels in Italy, 1638—9. Ten sonnets were printed in the edition of 1645, the last of them being that entitled (from the *Cambridge* MS.) "To the Lady Margaret Ley." The remaining thirteen were composed between 1645 and 1658. The concluding sonnet, therefore (to the memory of Milton's second wife), immediately preceded his commencement of *Paradise Lost*. Four of these poems, (XV. XVI. XVII. XXII.) could not, on account of their political tone, be included in the edition of 1673. They were first published by Edward Phillips at the end of his memoir of Milton, 1694.

devoted to prose works of no particular interest to us[1]. He continued to live in London. His third marriage had proved happy, and he enjoyed something of the renown which was rightly his. Various well-known men used to visit him—notably Dryden[2], who on one of his visits asked and received permission to dramatise *Paradise Lost*. It does not often happen that a university can point to two such poets among her living sons, each without rival in his generation.

His death.

Milton died in 1674, November 8th. He was buried in St Giles' Church, Cripplegate. When we think of him we have to think of a man who lived a life of very singular purity and devotion to duty; who for what he conceived to be his country's good sacrificed—and no one can well estimate the sacrifice—during twenty years the aim that was nearest to his heart and best suited to his genius; who, however, eventually realised his desire of writing a great work *in gloriam Dei*.

The sonnet on the "Massacre in Piedmont" is usually considered the finest of the collection, of which the late Rector of Lincoln College edited a well-known edition, 1883. The sonnet inscribed with a diamond on a window pane in the cottage at Chalfont where the poet stayed in 1665 is (in the judgment of a good critic) Miltonic, if not Milton's (Garnett's *Life of Milton*, p. 175).

[1] The treatise on *Christian Doctrine* is valuable as throwing much light on the theological views expressed in the two epic poems and *S.A.*

[2] The lines by Dryden which were printed beneath the portrait of Milton in Tonson's folio edition of *Paradise Lost* published in 1688 are too familiar to need quotation; but it is worth noting that the younger poet had in Milton's lifetime described the great epic as "one of the most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced" (prefatory essay to *The State of Innocence*, 1674). Further, tradition assigned to Dryden (a Catholic and a Royalist) the remark, "this fellow (Milton) cuts us all out and the ancients too."

ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

Date of the Ode.

THIS poem is not among the Milton MSS. at Cambridge. It was first printed in the 1645 edition of his poems, with the heading[1], "Compos'd 1629." From an allusion in the sixth *Elegy* (quoted below) we learn that the exact day on which Milton commenced it was Christmas-day, 1629. He was then in his twenty-second year and had not yet left Cambridge.

In the 1645 edition the *Hymn* is given the place of honour; the publisher evidently thought that it would make a good prelude to the volume, and we can but admire his taste. Between the first edition and the second published in 1673 there is only one difference of reading, viz. in lines 143—144: the change is manifestly for the better[2].

Allusions to the Poem.

Milton refers to the *Nativity Hymn* in two passages of his other works. The more interesting of these is the close of the sixth of his Latin *Elegies*, addressed to Diodati. Diodati had written on Dec. 13, 1629, to excuse himself for having, amid the festivities of the season, neglected the Muses; Milton in his reply showed that unlike his friend he had not been distracted from poetry:

[3]At tu si quid agam scitabere (si modo saltem
Esse putas tanti noscere siquid agam).
Paciferum canimus cælesti semine regem,
Faustaque sacratis sæcula pacta libris;
[4]Vagitumque Dei, et stabulantem paupere tecto
Qui suprema suo cum patre regna colit;
[5]Stelliparumque polum, modulantesque æthere turmas,
[6]Et subito elisos ad sua fana Deos.
Dona quidem dedimus Christi natalibus illa;
Illa sub auroram lux mihi prima tulit.
[7]Te quoque pressa manent patriis meditata cicutis;
Tu mihi, cui recitem, judicis instar eris.

[1] Omitted in the 1673 ed.
[2] See note on the lines.
[3] *Elegia Sexta*, 79—90.
[4] Cf. *Nat. Ode*, 30, 31.
[5] *Ibid.* 69—76, and 93—100.
[6] *Ibid.* 197 *et seq.*
[7] Diodati appears to have acted the part of friendly adviser and critic to Milton; cf. the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 180, 181.

Valuable in itself the reference is doubly so from its context. It follows a long statement of Milton's view of the poet's calling—that only those who live a life of self-discipline should attempt to handle great themes in a great style; and then he passes on to mention the magnificent subject which was occupying his own thoughts. Diodati might draw the obvious inference.

The other allusion is a passing glance in the Ode on *The Passion*:

> "Erewhile of Music, and ethereal mirth,
> Wherewith the stage of air and earth did ring,
> And joyous news of heavenly Infant's birth,
> My Muse with Angels did divide to sing."

The Passion is left unfinished, the poet (as his postscript tells us) being unsatisfied with what he had written. Probably his original intention had been to make the piece a pendant to the *Nativity Hymn*. Very likely, it was composed the following Easter. Between these poems may have come the brief Ode *Upon the Circumcision*. At any rate the three are in a measure linked together by the fact that an event in the life of our Lord is the subject of each.

Metre of the Ode.

The metre of the four introductory stanzas of the *Nativity Ode* differs from that of the *Hymn* itself. In them Milton has used, with one significant variation, the stanza of seven lines, each line having five accents, in which[1] Chaucer wrote *Troilus and Cresside* and several of the *Canterbury Tales*. Spenser had cast his *Fowre Hymnes* in the same stanza. The variation introduced by Milton is an Alexandrine in the seventh line instead of the heroic verse. Here he was probably influenced by the *Faerie Queene*. In fact, if we take a stanza of that poem (in which the stave is of nine lines), and cancel verses six and seven, we find that what remains is practically identical with the seven-line stanza employed by Milton.

In the *Hymn* the metrical arrangement, so far as we know,

[1] "His favourite seven-line stanza, called Rhyme Royal from its subsequent use by James I. of Scotland" (Pollard, *Chaucer Primer*, p. 134).

is entirely Milton's invention. It is an eight-line stanza composed of verses of four different lengths. Lines 1 and 2, 4 and 5, are rhymed couplets of three feet: lines 3 and 6 have five accents and are rhymed: lines 7 and 8 rhyme, 7 being a verse of four feet, and 8 an Alexandrine.

Two points in the verse seem worthy of note. First, Milton uses freely the licence authorised by Chaucer's example, of a foot consisting of a single syllable at the commencement of a line; cf. the following instances:

"That | the mighty Pan," l. 105.
"While | the Creator great," l. 120.
"Must | redeem our loss," l. 153.

On this point see the introductory notice to *L'Allegro*.

Alexandrines. Again, the Alexandrine is handled with extraordinary power. Even Spenser (and the *Faerie Queene* must have given him excellent practice) failed to get the same uniform sonority out of the six carefully-balanced beats. No doubt, the effect of the long verse, which forms a kind of rolling *crescendo* to the whole stanza, is increased by the comparative brevity of the previous line.

Style of the Poem. To the style of the Ode two objections may be taken: it is a little artificial, and a little fanciful. The artificiality is seen in the excessive alliteration: we are reminded of Holofernes and his trick of "affecting the letter." The regularity with which these alliterative effects occur must be the result of conscious effort rather than of pure inspiration. And then at times Milton falls into the strained manner of the 'metaphysical' school, the later generation of Euphuists whose quest was fantastic imagery, far-fetched metaphor, 'preciousness' of phrase. Of this tendency verses 141—143, as they stand in the first edition of the Ode, seem to us a striking example:

"Yea, Truth, and Justice then
Will down return to men
Th' enamel'd *Arras* of the Rainbow wearing."

"Enamel'd *Arras*" is a conceit worthy of Crashaw or Donne.

Or take the imagery of the sunset in stanza XXVI: it is so bold and emphatic as only just to escape the grotesque. The *Nativity Ode* is the one considerable poem in which Milton shows a leaning towards the group of writers who had naturalised in English verse this strain of affectation which had done so much harm to other European[1] literatures. The leaning is unmistakeable, and in the case of a young writer quite intelligible.

These, however, are venial flaws, and the Ode as a whole well deserves Hallam's praise—that it is "perhaps the finest in the English language." For Milton reveals here many of those qualities which have won for *Paradise Lost* a place apart in our literature. The *Hymn* is a foretaste of the epic. We have the same learning, full for the classical scholar of far-reaching suggestion: the same elevation and inspired enthusiasm of tone: even (to note a small but not valueless detail) the same happy device of weaving in the narrative names that raise in us a vague thrill of awe, a sense of things remote and great and mysterious: above all, the same absolute grandeur of style. No other English poet rivals Milton in a certain majesty of music, a dignity of sound so irresistible that the only thing to which we can compare it (and the comparison has been made a hundred times), is the strains of an organ. This command over great effects of harmony places *Paradise Lost* beyond competition. It informs the best passages of Milton's prose-works[2]. And of all the early poems none displays it so conspicuously as the *Nativity Ode.*

The "Nativity Ode" a prelude to "Paradise Lost."

[1] In the Latin poem *Mansus*, written some years later, Milton mentions in terms of compliment the Italian poet Marini whose verse was of the most artificial type.

[2] Cf. the introduction to the second book of *The Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 472—482; or *The Remonstrant's Defence*, section IV, the passage beginning "O thou the ever-begotten Light," *P. W.* III. 71, 72.

L'ALLEGRO AND IL PENSEROSO.

L'Allegro and *Il Penseroso* were not printed till 1645. The MSS. of the poems are not among the Milton papers at Trinity College, and we have no direct means of determining when they were composed. By common consent, however, of critics they are assigned to the year 1632, or thereabout. *Comus* dates from 1634, and the evidence (such as it is) of style inclines editors to think that *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* preceded the Masque. We can scarcely be wrong in assuming that Milton was in the country at the time when he wrote them; and as it is certain that he returned to his father's house in Buckinghamshire in 1632, we may with tolerable safety accept that year (or 1633) as the date, and Horton as the scene, of the composition of these companion pieces.

Date.

It is natural to think of *Il Penseroso* as the later: yet, probably, it was conceived, if not actually composed, first: for this reason. With Milton the impulse to write is often external. Some special event stimulates his imagination, and the outcome is a *Lycidas*, an *Epitaphium Damonis;* or he takes up his pen at the petition of a friend, as in the case of *Comus;* or he happens to read in the work of another poet the inadequate handling of an attractive theme, sees how much more forcibly it might be treated, and treats it. A tiny spark is enough to kindle his fancy. It was so with *Il Penseroso.* There were two poems in praise of Melancholy which Milton must have known. From them came the notion of depicting the life and idiosyncrasy of the contemplative man; and afterwards it was a natural sequence of ideas to conceive and sketch in sharp contrast the opposite type, the man of social intercourse and activity. It matters little on which of the canvases he first began to work: to some extent they may have been filled in

"Il Penseroso" precedes "L'Allegro."

side by side. There is so much studied antithesis throughout the poems, so many verbal touches in the one that throw into strong relief the corresponding scene in the other, that we are tempted to believe that Milton must often have altered or inserted details in, say, *L'Allegro* solely for the purpose of pointing its difference from *Il Penseroso*. Be this as it may, it is well to remember that, in all probability, Melancholy was the forerunner of Mirth: she was the first to cast her spell over Milton's fancy.

The Song in "The Nice Valour."

One of the poems already alluded to in which may be traced the germ of *Il Penseroso* is the famous song in the play[1] of *The Nice Valour*, beginning "Hence, all you vain delights!", and having as its burden the sentiment, "Nothing's so dainty sweet as lovely melancholy."

The Introduction to Burton's "Anatomy."

The other piece is a set of verses prefixed to Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. It bears the title, "The Author's Abstract of Melancholy." The stanzas are written in the same four-foot measure as *Il Penseroso*, and recall the latter not merely in their general purport, but even in occasional resemblances of language[2]. They give the scholar's view of the isolated, studious

[1] By Fletcher. The play was not printed till 1647, but the song had been written many years before and inserted in it. According to tradition, Beaumont (who died in 1616) was the author of the lines. Sir Walter Scott praised them very highly. See his *Journal*, under the date May 10, 1826: "Baron Weber, the great composer, wanted me (through Lockhart) to compose something to be set to music by him...I have recommended instead Beaumont and Fletcher's unrivalled Song in the *Nice Valour*, 'Hence, all ye vain desires,'" vol. i. 190; cf. also i. 54. The suggestion did not come to anything.

[2] This is an example:

"When to myself I act and smile,
With pleasing thoughts the time beguile,
By a brookside or wood so green,
Unheard, unsought for, or *unseen*."

Cf. *L'Al.* 58 and *Il Pen.* 65.

life. He balances the pleasures and pains, and finally arrives at the conclusion anticipated by the song-writer:

> "All my joys to this are folly,
> Naught so sweet as melancholy."

There is no denying that these poems were read by Milton and furnished the seed out of which sprang *Il Penseroso*; and that in turn led to *L'Allegro*[1]. It should be added[2] also that the concluding couplets—"These delights if thou canst give," and "These pleasures, Melancholy, give"—are intentional echoes of the Elizabethan lyric[3] "Come live with me," the last stanza of which runs:

> "The shepherd-swains shall dance and sing
> For thy delight each May morning:
> If these delights thy mind may move,
> Then live with me, and be my love."

Construction of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso."

There is some difference of opinion as to the construction or scheme of *L'Allegro* and its counterpart. "Each," says Dr Masson, "describes an ideal day—a day of twelve hours." This theory that the events of each piece are limited to a single day is not very satisfactory. It involves us in considerable difficulties towards the

[1] Cf. Sir Egerton Brydges, a very reliable critic: "it is clear that they (i.e. *L'Al.* and *Il Pen.*) were suggested by the poem prefixed to 'Burton's Anatomie of Melancholy,' and a song in the 'Nice Valour' of Beaumont and Fletcher."

[2] Perhaps Sylvester ought not to be passed over. He deserves the credit of having supplied verbal hints for several passages; see the notes on *L'Al.* 26, *Il Pen.* 1, 8, 43, 147. His influence is traceable throughout Milton's early poems, and in some parts of *Paradise Lost*.

[3] By Christopher Marlowe; it is printed in full in *England's Helicon*, 1600, and subscribed with his name; four stanzas had appeared anonymously in the *Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599, with certain variations of reading. Isaac Walton, who thought it "old-fashioned poetry but choicely good," attributes it to Marlowe (*Complete Angler*, 1653). Cf. also *The Nymph's Reply* (or *Love's Answer*), ascribed to Sir Walter Raleigh. See Dyce's *Marlowe*, or Bullen's ed., where the text of the song is collated.

end of *L'Allegro*, while in *Il Penseroso* the awkwardness is even greater. Indeed I cannot reconcile it with the text of the latter. It leaves out of count the first sixty lines and makes the student begin his ideal day at moonlight. But we will quote Dr Masson's own summary of the poem from line 61 onwards: "It is the song of the nightingale that is first heard; lured by which the youth walks forth in moonlight, seeing all objects in their silver aspect, and listening to the sounds of nightfall. Such evening or nocturnal sights and sounds it is that befit the mood of melancholy. And then, indoors again we follow the thoughtful youth, to see him, in his chamber, where the embers glow on the hearth, sitting meditatively, disturbed by no sound, save (for it may be a town that he is now in) the drowsy voice of the passing bellman. Later still, or after midnight, we may fancy him in some high watch-tower, communing, over his books, with old philosophers, or with poets, of grave and tragic themes. In such solemn and weirdly phantasies let the whole night pass, and let the morning come, not gay, but sombre and cloudy, the winds rocking the trees, and the rain-drops falling heavily from the eaves. At last, when the sun is up, the watcher, who has not slept, may sally forth; but it is to lose himself in some forest of monumental oaks or pines, where sleep may overtake him recumbent by some waterfall. And always, ere he rejoins the mixed society of men, let him pay his due visit of worship to the Gothic cathedral near, and have his mind raised to its highest by the music of the pealing organ[1]."

Would anyone regard this as an ideal day? and does the text admit of the interpretation? The enjoyments and occupations described in ll. 73—85 are not successive: they are alternative. It is surely more natural to suppose that Milton is describing the *main* tenour of the respective lives of L'Allegro and Il Penseroso; the pleasurable experiences and pursuits not of any particular twelve hours, but of each man's career as a whole. L'Allegro may wander over the countryside on a spring-morning, but it is not necessarily on the self-same day that he

[1] *Globe* edition of Milton, p. 410.

joins in the "pomp and feast and revelry;" nor need we hurry him away from the Masque because "the well-trod stage" must be visited that very evening[1]. They are different episodes, to be referred to different occasions: to-day it is one pleasure, a village-festival—to-morrow another, a tournament 'at barriers;' and through each poem runs no more than a slender thread of connection whereon the poet strings together the several phases and relaxations of the two contrasted lives.

Metre.

A word may be said as to the metre of the poems. The first ten lines of each form a passage of invocation[2]. The verses, though uniformly composed of iambic feet, are irregular in length. Afterwards Milton adopts and adheres to the simple, four-foot, rhymed couplet in which the iambic predominates. Chaucer had used the measure in the *House of Fame*, the *Romaunt of the Rose*, and elsewhere; it is not uncommon in Jonson's Masques[3], perhaps because the rhythm was well adapted to musical setting; and Milton had recourse to it later in several of the passages for recitative in *Comus*.

[1] Dr Masson's view as to the "ideal day" (which Mr Stopford Brooke also adopts) does not readily suit *L'Al.* 119—134. It supposes the cheerful man to have returned from the rustic holiday-making to the town at nightfall; then follow tournaments and combats of wit, a procession, feasting, revelry, a masque, a pageant, and a visit to the playhouse. But this could not be crowded into a single evening. Accordingly Dr Masson explains that the lines do not refer to actual participation in these diversions: they are merely a *résumé* of L'Allegro's studies—a sketch of his "fit reading indoors." This interpretation seems to me to lose a most important point in the characterisation of the two types of men. See note on *L'Al.* 119.

[2] Cf. the *Song on May Morning*, where Milton first describes the morning (in iambics), and then apostrophises her (in trochaics); an example of his carefulness even in trifles, the whole poem being of but ten lines.

[3] Cf. the beautiful passage in *The Penates*,

> "If all the pleasures were distilled
> Of every flower in every field" etc.

Some of the lines have been pronounced[1] trochaic rather than iambic, and the following are quoted as examples:

"Haste thee, Nymph, and bring with thee
Jest and youthful Jollity."

But the probable explanation of these verses is, that the first foot is formed of a single syllable, the scansion being thus:

"Haste | thee, Nymph, and bring with thee
Jest | and youthful Jollity."

Milton may have borrowed the device (which occurs frequently in *L'Allegro*, less often in *Il Penseroso*) from Chaucer[2], who has plenty of similar instances. It is an extremely effective trick, lending to the rhythm a peculiarly dainty, tripping lilt, besides varying the flow of the lines which would be monotonous were the iambic norm rigidly observed[3].

What are the types of character that Milton intended to depict, and wherein lies the difference between them?

The Opposite Types.

The questions, often asked, are not very easy to answer. To us it seems that L'Allegro stands for the careless man who goes through life taking its pleasures as they come, avoiding its dark places, and never stopping to ask what it all means. Il Penseroso, on the other hand, is the contemplative man in whom the tendency to reflect has paralysed the power, or desire, to act. For L'Allegro life means pleasure.

L'Allegro.

His philosophy is summed up in Wordsworth's notion of "the joy in widest commonalty spread:" joy in nature when she smiles and reflects his mood of content; joy in the sights and sounds of the fields; in witnessing the happiness of

[1] E.g. by Todd. See *ante*, p. xxviii.

[2] See Professor Skeat's supplement to Tyrwhitt's "Essay on the Language and Versification of Chaucer," *Aldine* ed. I. 193—195. The nine-syllable lines in the *Canterbury Tales* may be explained on the same principle. Chaucer argued that if "the omission of the initial syllable did not spoil the harmony of the verse of *four* accents...it would not do so in a verse of *five* accents" (Skeat).

[3] Gray in his *Observations on English metre* has some remarks on the versification of these poems (*Works*, Gosse's ed. I. 333).

others; in fellowship with the world; in all amusements that gratify the eye with radiance of light and colour; in harmonies that, like the enchanted cup of Comus, bathe the soul in bliss. Whatever path he treads, wherever his footsteps turn, the goal that he reaches is pleasure: pleasure free from sensuality, but still mere pleasure. It is life from the sunny side, from the standpoint of a child. There is no hint of reflection, no consciousness of aught being amiss in the world. Everything disagreeable is kept out of sight: he moves through a garden of delight "from whose gates sorrow flies far." You cannot well be contemplative amid the turmoil of a village-fête; or at the theatre when the 'humours' of Ben Jonson hold the scene; or on the night of a Court-Masque at Whitehall when the imagination is intoxicated with the lights and splendid dresses and perfumes, and a thousand things of grace and brilliance. But this is the best that life, as understood by L'Allegro, can offer: and amidst it all there is no room or season for reflection.

Il Penseroso.

With Il Penseroso reflection is the first word and the last: every road leads thither. It is for this that he draws apart from other men; the commonplaces of social intercourse would disturb him. The powers he invokes to his aid are Peace, and Quiet, and Leisure. He is abstinent in order that the material element may not cloud his clearness of vision. His "ideal day" knows no kind of action. He finds solace in nature, but only when nature will minister to his love of meditation[1]: she must wear her most sombre robe to harmonise with his sombre thought, and take from him "the likeness of his look." Like L'Allegro he turns to music—not however that music may lull, rather that it may stimulate, the mind, and vouchsafe a revelation of what is beyond the world. Unlike L'Allegro he seeks no distracting recreation: his keenest pleasure lies in books that provide for him lofty matter of reflection, illuminate hard problems of philosophy, and bring him into communion with great thinkers. Under whatsoever

[1] Though the prevailing mood of Il Penseroso is called Melancholy it is really what Gray speaks of as "white Melancholy, or rather *Leucocholy*" (*Works*, Gosse's ed. II. 114).

aspect we view Il Penseroso he is the man of reflection, to whom the fever and fret of the outside world are vanity. This, therefore, differentiates the types—that the one man is always reflective; the other, never.

The Relation of the Poems to contemporary events.

Nor can anyone fail to see on which side Milton's sympathies lie. Il Penseroso is Milton himself: the poem[1] is a picture, scarcely idealised, of the life which he was leading at Horton, and but for the troubles of the time might have continued to lead. Such self-portraiture would have been interesting in any case; but its value is increased tenfold when we remember the external circumstances of the period. They must have affected Milton. He must have felt that the character of L'Allegro might, with slight changes or additions, be made to typify the careless, pleasure-seeking spirit of the Cavaliers and Court; the spirit which he afterwards figured in Comus and his followers, and condemned to destruction. On the other hand, Il Penseroso was no embodiment of Puritanism. He represented an ideal of culture and reflective enjoyment of life far removed from the gloomy Puritan ideal. Milton, in truth, steered a middle course between the two parties into which the nation was rapidly being split up. The crisis which should force him to choose one side or the other had not yet come, though *Il Penseroso* is an indication of the camp into which he would be driven when the necessity for action did arrive.

Popularity and influence of the Poems.

It is a remark of the French critic, Scherer, that the language of Milton is not merely beautiful, but full of the charm which springs from words *toujours justes dans leur beauté;* that his verse, in fact, fulfils the requirements of Coleridge's definition of poetry—the right words in the right places. This is conspicuously true of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso:* they possess the quality of verbal felicity which imprints fine poetry irresistibly on the memory. The words have flowed together into a har-

[1] Several autobiographical passages of the prose-works, e.g. the whole of the introduction to the second book of *The Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 472—482, illustrate the poem very directly.

monious unity that nothing can dissever. And this is shown by the fact that so much of the language of the poems has passed into the currency of every-day speech. Many phrases have become quotations, heard on the lips of people who have no knowledge of the source whence they come. In the same way, echoes of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* strike on our ear in the works of poets the most widely different in style. No pieces of lyric verse have been so often imitated[1]: but for them much verse would never have been written. Not only the *dei minores* of XVIIIth century verse—the Wartons[2] and Masons—are taken captive by the spell of Milton: the great masters—Dryden and Pope, Collins and Gray—come to this storehouse of perfect diction and bear away prize on prize. Writers who can agree

[1] Sir Egerton Brydges writes, "When Milton's poems were revived into notice about the middle of the last century, these two short lyrics became, I think, the most popular." Joseph Warton spoke of them as "universally known," attributing this popularity to the fact that they had been "set to admirable music by Mr Handel" (music that is now rarely performed). Till then (he said) *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, in common with Milton's other lyric pieces, had had only "a few curious readers." (*Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.*) It is not by any means certain that Milton was so neglected as Warton thought; among men of letters at any rate his early works always found admirers.

They were imitated as early as 1650 (only five years after the publication of the first edition) in the *Pocula Castalia* of Robert Baron (the writer who purloined long passages from Shakespeare). A little later came Dryden. Addison quotes from *L'Allegro* (see note on l. 11). Pope's *Pastorals* in which Milton is often only paraphrased, appeared in 1709. Dyer's *Grongar Hill* dates from 1726, and Dyer evidently knew and studied *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*. Other proofs of Milton's popularity from the middle of the XVIIth century onwards might be given. It is only with the later writers of this century that his influence has declined.

[2] T. Warton laboured at and edited Milton's early pieces until he knew them by heart, so that when he tried to compose on his own account (being Poet-Laureate) memory got the better of imagination. His *Ode on the Summer* and *Pleasures of Melancholy* are full of phrases from *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*.

in nothing else agree in admiring and borrowing from Milton. Thus, we can scarcely doubt that *L'Allegro* inspired Keats' *Ode to Fancy*, and that *Il Penseroso* was the "onlie begetter" of Tennyson's address *To Memory*.

Milton's attitude towards nature.

One other point must be noted. *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* are among the earliest examples in our literature of the poetry of natural description. *L'Allegro* in particular reveals Milton's love of nature, a very true and deep feeling, though it lacks the exaltation of Wordsworth's nature-worship and the fidelity of Tennyson. But these are qualities which we ought not to expect to find in a XVIIth century poet. The enthusiasm for nature which was the very life and *anima* of Wordsworth's poetry is modern. To Milton its vague pantheism would have been most distasteful. He would have regarded it as simply irreligious, a phase of emotion which instead of looking through nature to nature's God displaced the Creator in favour of the created.

Nor again did poets of that age study the phenomena of the world around them with the close accuracy to which Tennyson has accustomed us. They were content to convey general impressions, true in essentials though incorrect in details.

Milton must be judged by their standard, and we cannot deny him an appreciation of nature merely because an occasional error may be detected in his descriptions, or because the style strikes us now and then as fanciful and stilted. It is natural to him to think in the language of classical writers. He is too deeply imbued with the spirit of the ancients to be quite free, and reminiscences of Homer or Vergil unconsciously determine his manner. But sentiment is not less genuine because the expression of it has a literary tinge.

LYCIDAS.

Date.

Lycidas was composed in the autumn of 1637, and published some time in 1638. It is an *in memoriam* poem, and the circumstances which evoked it were as follows.

Circumstances of its composition.

On August the 10th, 1637, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, Edward King, was lost at sea. He had been slightly junior to Milton at the University, but there may have been some intimacy, possibly some friendship, between them. He seems to have been a scholar of great promise and much beloved; and when the news of his death was known at Cambridge in the ensuing Michaelmas term his friends[1] decided to publish a collection of elegiac verses as a quasi-official expression of the University's regret at his early death.

Similar collections of verse.

Such collections were customary in the XVIIth century. When any event[2] of significance occurred—especially a royal birth, or wedding, or death—the scholars and wits of Oxford and Cambridge invoked the Muses in rival strains. Many of these anthologies may be seen on the shelves of College Libraries, full (when the ear of royalty might be reached) of a robust adulation that must often have smoothed the path to preferment. That Edward King should have been honoured by the

[1] Amongst those who contributed poems were Henry King, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, and Henry More, 'the Cambridge Platonist,' both members of Christ's College; Joseph Beaumont, of Peterhouse, author of the curious poem *Psyche* (reprinted by Dr Grosart); and Cleveland of St John's, whose eulogy of King was perhaps the most extravagant of all.

[2] The death of Ben Jonson (in 1637) was marked by the issue in this very year, 1638, of a volume of elegies entitled *Jonsonus Virbius*.

issue of one of these tributes of academic elegy, usually reserved for greater names, is a proof of the esteem in which he was held at Cambridge.

The Cambridge volume.

The memorial poems were published in 1638, in a volume divided into two sections. The first, filling thirty-six pages, contains twenty-three pieces of Greek and Latin verse; the title-page describes them as JUSTA EDOVARDO KING *naufrago, ab Amicis mœrentibus amoris &* μνείας χάριν. Their motto is chosen from Petronius Arbiter—*si recte calculum ponas, ubique naufragium est.* They were printed *Cantabrigiæ: apud celeberrimæ Academiæ typographos.* 1638.

The English portion is shorter. It occupies twenty-five pages, with thirteen poems, and the title runs, "Obsequies to the Memorie of Mr EDWARD KING, *Anno Dom.* 1638. Printed by *Th. Buck*, and *R. Daniel*, printers to the *Universitie* of *Cambridge*, 1638."

First edition of Lycidas.

Milton's poem is the last in the English section; it is introduced with the title "*Lycidas*[1]," and signed with the initials "J. M." This, therefore, is the first edition of *Lycidas:* we refer to it in the *Notes* and *Appendix* variously as the 'Cambridge ed.' and the '1638 ed.'

The events of the poem.

Besides the poems the volume includes a brief preface[2] in Latin, setting forth the manner of King's death. He had sailed from Chester for Ireland where most of his relations were settled; he himself had been born at Boyle, county Roscommon, and his father had held office as Secretary for Ireland under Elizabeth and the two succeeding monarchs. Not far from the British coast the vessel

[1] Prof. Masson says, "The last piece...is Milton's *Lycidas*. It... has no title, or other formal separation from the pieces that precede it." So Dr Bradshaw ("Milton's *Lycidas* is the last...without title or other heading"), I. 330. That is to say, there is no *descriptive* title such as "Monody," the poem being merely introduced in this Cambridge volume with the name "*Lycidas*."

[2] Possibly by Joseph Beaumont. Some words in it read like a translation of a verse in his poem.

struck on a rock[1], sprang a leak, and sank. The narrative says[2] that while other passengers were trying to save their lives Edward King knelt on the deck, and was praying as the ship went down. Some of those on board must have escaped, else this fact would not have been known[3]. It is curious, I think, that Milton should have made no allusion to an episode so affecting, and for the purposes of the poet so effective. Other contributors[4] to the volume mention it. Probably, however, Milton had not heard full details of the accident. He was living away from Cambridge—at Horton—and may have received no more than a notice in general terms of King's death, and an invitation to join his friends in lamenting the loss to the College and University[5].

[1] Cf. the allusion in Beaumont's poem:

"O why was justice made so blind?
And rocks so fierce?"

[2] *Dum alii vectores vitæ mortalis frustra satagerent, immortalem anhelans in genu provolutus oransque una cum navigio ab aquis absorptus animam deo reddidit.*

[3] Mr Jerram quotes a statement in the preface to William Hogg's translation of *Lycidas* into Latin hexameters—to the effect that some of those on board the ship escaped in a boat which King refused to enter. Hogg writing in 1694 may have handed on a tradition that had survived from the previous generation. He was the author of the version (also in hexameters) of *Paradise Lost* which William Lauder used with such unhappy ingenuity.

[4] E.g. W. More, who says:

"I heard
Who 'twas that on his knees the vessel steer'd
With hands bolt up to heaven;"

and Beaumont:

"his pure and loyall heart
Did in its panting bear no part
Of trembling fear; but having wrought
Eternall peace with every thought" etc.

[5] It is possible that the volume in which *Lycidas* appeared was not the only one of the kind to which Milton contributed. Warton had been told that the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester* was first

That an imperfect account had reached Milton appears to me to be shown by a detail in his description of the shipwreck which conflicts with the narrative of one who must have been far better informed, viz. Henry King, the brother. Milton says (the statement has become a tradition) that the vessel was wrecked in perfectly calm weather. But it is not stated so in the Latin preface: all we read there is, *haud procul a littore Britannico, navi in scopulum allisa et rimis ex ictu fatiscente...* Now if we turn to the Cambridge volume and look at the poem by Henry King, we find it very clearly implied that the ship foundered during stormy weather. The writer compares his family to a spreading tree of which his brother,

Milton's account seems incorrect.

"the fairest arm,
Is torn away by an unluckie storm[1]."

This agrees with the preface: the ship was driven on the rock during a gale. Further, the lines in *Lycidas* that refer to the

printed in a Cambridge collection of elegiac poems on her death; and some lines (55—60) point that way. How Milton ever came to compose that *Ode* has always been a subject of speculation with his editors. I would suggest that it was written under circumstances somewhat similar to those which inspired *Lycidas;* that is, through Milton's connection with Christ's College. The Marchioness of Winchester was a daughter of Viscount Savage, of Cheshire: her mother being the eldest daughter of the Earl of Rivers. There were among Milton's fellow students at Christ's College two brothers named Rivers, sons of Sir John Rivers, a Kentish Baronet. Milton alludes quibblingly to their name in the *Vacation Exercise*, 91 ("Rivers, arise"), a point first noted by Mr W. G. Clark, of Trinity. Possibly they were connected with the family of Rivers from which the mother of the Marchioness was descended: they may have been cousins of the Marchioness who was about their age: if so, we may hazard the guess that Milton wrote the Elegy at their request.

[1] So the same poem:

"But oh! his fatall love did prove too kind,
To trust the treacherous waves and careless wind,
Which did conspire to intercept this prize."

shipwreck merely suggest that the "fatal bark" was unseaworthy. There is no hint of the true cause of the disaster; there is indeed no definiteness whatever in the description. We are only told that the vessel sank, and the fact is accounted for by a poetic theory of its having rested under a primal curse since the day when it was "built in the eclipse." As to the fair weather, it was, very likely, a mere fiction, happy enough artistically since it heightens the pathos of the scene, but assumed by Milton because the episode fell at the beginning of August when in theory the sea ought to have been calm, whatever it was in fact.

Text.

For students of Milton the text of *Lycidas* possesses unusual interest. We have the original MS. preserved at Trinity; the Cambridge edition of 1638; a copy[1] of this edition in the University Library, with corrections in Milton's hand-writing; and the 1645 edition of Milton's early poems. This last version, identical[2] with the issue of 1673, represents the final revision of *Lycidas*. It offers a good many differences of reading from the MS. and the first (1638) edition.

The Original MS.

The MS., no doubt, is the original draft. It is full of careful corrections[3] which enable us to trace the successive stages in the composition of certain passages. These corrections are two-fold: those that preceded the issue of the poem in 1638, those that followed. That some of the changes were made at a later date is proved by the fact

[1] The history of this volume is not known. The corrections, however, are certainly in Milton's hand-writing, as comparison of them with the undoubted MS. at Trinity shows. They are not numerous; Milton may have made them at the time when he inserted the later changes in the MS.

[2] Identical save for one or two *errata* in the 1673 ed.; e.g. in line 65, where "to *tend*" is misprinted "to *end*."

[3] The earliest complete collation of the MS. is (I believe) Todd's. Many, however, of the variations were recorded by Newton, who, in securing accuracy of text, did for Milton, on a smaller scale, what Theobald did for Shakespeare. Part of the MS. is reproduced in facsimile in Mr Leigh Sotheby's book on Milton's autograph.

that in several instances where the MS. has been altered, the 1638 ed. gives the original, erased reading, and not that which Milton substituted in the margin. As a clear example we may take line 26. Milton first wrote "*glimmering* eyelids of the Morn;" *glimmering* was corrected to *opening:* yet in the 1638 ed. we find *glimmering.* There is a similar case in l. 30; another in l. 31.

Title.

The *Title* of the poem is part of this subsequent revision. In the first instance the MS. was headed "Lycidas: Novemb. 1637." The month and date are crossed out. To the 1645 ed. Milton prefixed the long sub-title, "In this monodie" etc. It may be conjectured that the addition was made for two reasons: first, because to the general public, who had never heard of Edward King, the point of the poem would not be very clear without some explanation of the peculiar circumstances which led to its composition; secondly, because in 1645 Milton would not fear to announce openly that the elegy contained an attack on the Church and a prophecy of its downfall, a prediction which might then have been considered partially fulfilled. Now in the MS. this sub-title is written in a cramped hand at the top of the sheet where there is barely room for it; and we may assume that it was when this insertion was made that the words "Novemb. 1637" were struck out.

The later revision.

It is perhaps worth while to suggest that this new title and the later readings in the body of the MS. date from 1644—1645. Milton had kept the MS. by him, and when the publisher Moseley proposed the issue of all his early poems, he went through *Lycidas* again, recorrecting parts, and (not impossibly) transferring some of the new readings to his own copy of the 1638 edition. So, at least, we are inclined to think.

Metre: Italian.

There is but one noticeable feature in the metrical structure of *Lycidas:* that is Milton's use of lines of irregular length grouped in what Prof. Masson happily terms "free musical paragraphs," where the rhythm and cadence of the verses wait upon and echo the feelings of the

speaker. The source whence Milton borrowed this device was pointed out by Johnson. "Milton's acquaintance," he says, speaking of *Lycidas*, "with the Italian writers may be discovered by a mixture of longer and shorter verses, according to the rules of Tuscan poetry." Compare also Landor's words: "No poetry so harmonious (i.e. as *Lycidas*) had ever been written in our language, but in the same free metre both Tasso[1] and Guarini[2] had captivated the ear of Italy[3]." Many years later Milton employed the same artifice ("but oh! the heavy change!") in the choruses of *Samson Agonistes*, the preface to which discusses this irregular type of versification, and describes it as 'unfettered' (*Apolelymenon*). It has one great merit (at least in the hands of Milton) that the variations in the length of the metre may be made to reflect the shifting passions which the subject inspires. Emotion seems to find its exact equivalent in verbal expression.

Pastoral verse.

If the metre of *Lycidas* was not original neither was the manner. The monody is a study in that pastoral style which originated, apparently, with Theocritus, widened its scope and range in the hands of Vergil, and then for centuries fell out of currency. The general revival of letters and culture which we term the Renaissance had recalled it to life, or at least to artificial activity.

Its revival in Italy.

The renewed interest in bucolic verse came from Italy. During the XVth and XVIth centuries much Latin verse was composed in imitation of Theocritus and Vergil by Italian *savants* and poetasters; while the later of these centuries produced three famous works, written in Italian, which represented, by different methods,

[1] E.g. in the choruses of his pastoral drama, *Aminta*.

[2] E.g. in the *Pastor Fido*.

[3] *Works*, IV. 499 (ed. 1876). Cf. also his verses *On Swift Joining Avon:*

"I watch thy placid smile, nor need to say
That Tasso wove one looser lay,
And Milton took it up to dry the tear
Dropping on Lycidas' bier."

different aspects of pastoralism. These were the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro, 1504; Tasso's dramatic pastoral *Aminta*, performed at Ferrara in 1573; and the *Pastor Fido*, 1585, of Guarini, Tasso's contemporary and to some extent rival. These works gave in their several ways great vogue to a type of poetry which appealed strongly to cultured, academic tastes from the very fact that it had always been intensely artificial—a literary, idealised presentment of scenes which could never, under any conditions of primitive society, have had any veritable counterpart in real life.

The Pastoral in England.

Italy being at that time the guide whose example in literature the rest of Europe followed, the Italian cultivators of the pastoral soon found imitators in Spain and Portugal, in France and England. The first tentative essays of English writers[1] had no great significance. It was with the *Shepheards Calender* that this classical revival first became firmly established on English soil, and the *Shepheards Calender* is remarkable for its genuinely bucolic simplicity. Herein it differed from the Italian pastoral. Italian writers, for the most part scholars composing for scholarly audiences, had affected an artificial method, developing the literary element in the Greek *Idyll*, the element which reminds us that Theocritus had breathed the atmosphere of Alexandrian culture and criticism.

Spenser.

Spenser endeavoured to make his rural scenes natural and true to the life he professed to paint. He introduced actual rustics talking their own dialect. To increase the *vraisemblance* he was at the pains to use archaic words and tricks of style—not always with the happiest results. He aimed, in fact, at realism of effect.

Among a certain class of writers[2] (mostly University men)

[1] E.g. Barnabe Googe whose volume of miscellaneous poems, *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes* (see Arber's *Reprint*) appeared in 1563. It contains eight pastoral poems mostly in dialogue form: the speakers, shepherds and shepherdesses; the themes discussed, love, the evils of towns, the country-life etc.; the verse full of old-fashioned alliteration.

[2] E.g. Phineas Fletcher, of King's College, Cambridge, whose

Spenser was long a dominant influence, so that the *Shepheards Calender* gave a great impetus to the pastoral, and that impetus had not died away when Milton wrote *Lycidas*. Many years later he told Dryden[1] that he regarded himself as the poetical son of Spenser: and thus it may have been the example of the author of *Astrophel*[2] that led Milton to determine on pastoral elegy as the most fitting vehicle of expressing regret at the death of Edward King.

Is "Lycidas" an expression of personal grief?

Regret, however, is the sentiment which some readers fail to find in *Lycidas:* true grief, they say, would never seek self-expression in the most artificial of poetic styles. *Lycidas*, writes Johnson[3], "is not to be considered as the effusion of real passion; for passion runs not after remote allusions and obscure opinions. Passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethuse and Mincius, nor tells of rough 'satyrs' and 'fawns with cloven heel.' Where there is leisure for fiction, there is little grief." But this criticism seems to us to rest on a wrong principle, identifying truth of art with truth of fact. Many things are possible and expedient in art which in actual life are wholly impossible. Art, since it works under restrictions, claims certain privileges, and a right to deviate from the literal presentment of the world. So when grief elects to express itself by the art of pastoral verse we must permit it to do things of which it would never dream in real life: the two spheres of actual and pastoral sorrow are different, and when

Piscatorie Eclogues are conspicuous examples of the pastoral manner; or Browne, of Exeter College, Oxford, author of *Britannia's Pastorals.*

[1] See the preface to Dryden's *Fables.*

[2] Spenser's *Pastorall Elegie* on Sir Philip Sidney.

[3] Johnson's criticism of *Lycidas* has become too hackneyed to be quoted at any length. We may note, however, that he only wrote in the *Life* what he said in private. When Hannah More (as she relates in her *Diary*) praised *Lycidas*, Johnson "absolutely abused" it. But he decried pastoral poetry as a whole, apparently from a personal distaste for sheep: "an intelligent reader," he said, "sickens at the mention" of them (*Life* of Shenstone).

the poet passes from the former he leaves behind him its conditions and fetters. Milton, therefore, provided that he abided by the laws of the art selected, was perfectly free to clothe his regret—if he felt regret—in symbolism and allegory, and to send it forth to the world decked in the imagery which custom has consecrated to the aims of the pastoral writer.

Milton and Edward King.

But it is quite possible that his sorrow only enjoyed a courtesy-title: that *Lycidas* was never intended to be the expression of deep, heart-felt sentiment. Apart from the poem, we have no evidence which should lead us to believe that Edward King was his friend; but for *Lycidas* we should never have heard of King. Diodati whom Milton mourned for in his other elegiac poem, where genuine passion[1] rings unmistakeable, even in the accents of a dead language—'dead' only in theory, for Milton wields it with a mastery which informs the *Epitaphium* with almost Vergilian life and vigour—Diodati we should always have known to be the friend of Milton's boyhood and early manhood: in letters and other records there is abundant testimony to their intimacy. With Edward King the case was otherwise. He was junior to Milton: and if *Lycidas* speaks of their community of tastes and pursuits it does so merely because such allusions are part of the machinery of these academic monodies, dramatic 'properties' of the bucolic stage.

"Lycidas" a 'study.'

To us, therefore, *Lycidas* appears what we have already called it—"a study in the pastoral style." Milton knew the Greek pastoral writers and their Latin imitator, Vergil, by heart. He knew, in particular, those poems—the first *Idyll* of Theocritus and the *Epitaphium Bionis* by Moschus—which are models for all time of pastoralism dedicated to the purposes of elegy and lament[2]. And

[1] Johnson recognised little "vigour of sentiment" in Milton's Latin poems: Mr Mark Pattison shows that this is precisely the quality in which they excel (*Life* of Milton, 41).

[2] The most elaborate poem in English prior to *Lycidas* in which the effectiveness of such verse on its elegiac side had been shown was

he had doubtless studied modern works, especially Italian, cast in the same vein. Here was an opportunity of weaving this knowledge into an exquisite fabric of learning and literary suggestion and artistic pathos. Nothing could have been more appropriate to the occasion: but we have no means of penetrating behind the scenes and deciding whether the emotion is personal or 'dramatic.'

Milton and the Church.

There is, however, one subject on which Milton lets the reader know what he thought in entirely unambiguous language: namely, the corruption of the Established Church. No one can mistake the drift of lines 118—131, or the spirit that animates them. The passage has been much censured, and from the standpoint of art seems indefensible. First, it is a digression, distracting attention from the main theme of the poem into a wholly different channel: the fact that Edward King had intended to take orders in the Church scarcely justifies the insertion of a long invective against the abuses of that institution[1]. Under any circumstances, whatever the style of the poem, an episode of this kind would be objectionable. But here amid bucolic imagery and pagan *dramatis personae* Christianity can have no place: it would be hard to conceive greater incongruity of effect,

Watson's poem on the death of Walsingham. He first composed it in Latin, striving to copy Vergil much as Vergil had copied Theocritus; and afterwards he translated it into rhymed English verse, and published it with the Latin in 1590. From one or two passages in *Lycidas* it might be inferred that Milton had read Watson's work (which Prof. Arber has reprinted).

[1] We may conjecture that Milton's remarks must have been distasteful to at least one of his fellow-contributors, viz. J. Hayward, Canon of Lichfield, whose poem was a long address to Edward King's sister, Lady Margaret Loder, celebrating her zeal on behalf of the Church, and declaring, amongst other things to the same effect, that

> "Our Cathedralls to a beamlesse eye
> Are quires of Angels in epitomie,
> Maugre the blatant beast, who cries them down
> As favouring of superstition."

and the only defence that can be offered is, that this blending of Christian sentiment and association with paganism had long been a tradition with pastoral writers.

Christianity introduced into pastoral verse.

We find it in the *Eclogues* of Mantuan[1]; in the Latin elegiac poetry of Italian[2] scholars with whom references to the contemporary Church and State are freely interspersed among pictures of the Theocritean world; and in the *Shepheards Calender*, the fifth *Œglogue*[3] of which shadows forth, under the slightest of disguises, the orthodox contrast between Romanism and its rival. Milton could at least plead the privilege of custom[4], and he took full advantage of it[5].

"The pilot of the Galilean lake."

We cannot assume that what he writes was meant to apply to the whole Church. He limits it to the corrupt elements, though a few years later he regarded the corruption as universal. Nor is it a fair inference from his description of St Peter that his sympathies lay with episcopacy. Dramatic propriety required that the Apostle should be invested with all the circumstance and pomp of his office—the mitre and the fatal keys—since by heightening

[1] The Carmelite Baptista Spagnolus, commonly called Mantuan in old writers from the fact that he lived at Mantua. His *Eclogues* were translated into English by George Turberville, about 1567; see Arber's *Reprint*. His influence on this type of verse was very great; the *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal.* quotes his authority more than once (see the "Globe" *Spenser*, 451, 476, 478).

[2] Cf. Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy* ("Revival of Learning"), II. 486—498; especially p. 491. Mr Symonds raises the question whether Milton was familiar with these writers.

[3] Milton refers to it approvingly in the *Animadversions*, quoting the passage "The time was once," down to "baile nor borrowe," twenty-nine lines in all—*P. W.* III. 84—85.

[4] As another example we might mention Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogues* where the Clergy are denounced in the character of fishermen neglectful of their duty; see *Eclogue* IV. 14—19, Grosart's ed. II. 274—276.

[5] Mr Mark Pattison observes (30, 31) that the lines referred to are a foretaste—the first we get—of Milton's stern, political mood.

the dignity of those who mourned for Lycidas the poet paid honour to him: religion and learning alike bent over his tomb, the one symbolised by the head of the Catholic Church, the other by the spokesman of Edward King's University. Truly, he was fortunate in his elegist.

The allusion to contemporary poets.

Once elsewhere in *Lycidas* the personal note interrupts the even monotone of the Elegy. It is surely not fanciful to detect in lines 64—69 a complaint that poetry had fallen on trifling times when all the qualities which in Milton's view were essential to the poet—sobriety of life, learning, earnestness of thought—counted for nothing in popular esteem. As we read this passage we remember the introduction to the second book[1] of *The Reason of Church Government* (than which Milton's proseworks contain nothing more valuable), where he contrasts two types of poets: showing us on the one hand "the vulgar amourist" whose inspiration is "the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine;" and on the other the scholar and seer who gives himself over to study and the mastery of all arts and sciences that illuminate the mind, and "devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases." It is under this type that he directly classes himself: and to the former that he indirectly assigns in *Lycidas*, 64—69, the Sucklings and Herricks and Cavalier song-writers. Unhappily, the public voice, the voice at any rate of fashion, was on their side: for his poetry there was no audience[2].

[1] *P. W.* II. 481.

[2] Was this why Milton was so slow to publish his poems? Up till 1645 only three had been printed, each under peculiar circumstances. The lines *On Shakespeare*, unsigned and hidden away among the commendatory verses prefixed to the second folio, 1632, scarcely count. *Comus* was only printed because Henry Lawes grew tired of copying the MS. for his friends. He, not Milton, was responsible for the edition. It bore no name, so that Sir Henry Wotton had read the Masque before he knew who its author was (see the Pitt Press ed. 10, 69): the

An *Introduction* to *Lycidas* cannot well omit mention, however brief, of those modern works which owe something to Milton's elegy, and still more to the sources that inspired it. The authors of *Adonais* and *Thyrsis* "fed on the self-same hill" as the author of *Lycidas:* they too revive echoes of the Sicilian shepherd-music; and apart from such general similarities as we should expect where writers have chosen the same vehicle of expression (in this case the most stereotyped and conventional of methods), each has at least one point of contact with Milton. *Thyrsis*, like *Lycidas*, presents an idealised picture of University-life, and perhaps for sincerity and true feeling begotten of love for the scenes described the advantage rests with the hand which wrote the famous panegyric and apostrophe in the preface to the *Essays In Criticism.* In the *Adonais* Shelley's invective against the enemies of Keats recalls Milton's onslaught on the Church: a subsidiary theme has kindled the fire of personal feeling in each poem, and neither can be regarded as the consecration of perfect friendship. The *In Memoriam* which is sometimes compared with these three elegies stands apart. It is not a pastoral, and it has a scope far beyond that of any poem of lament: being, in fact, the writer's contribution to our "criticism of life."

motto shows that Milton thought the publication premature. We have seen that *Lycidas* appeared in a volume never likely to circulate much outside Cambridge, and that it was only signed with initials. All Milton's other early pieces (*Nat. Ode*, *Arc.*, *L'Al.*, *Il Pen.* etc.) were in MS.: literature might have lost them had anything happened to him on his Italian tour, or later amid the troubles of the Rebellion. Again, the 1645 edition was clearly due (cf. p. xiv) to the publisher Moseley, not to Milton: once more the motto expressed his diffidence. Perhaps there is no similar case of a poet composing such fine work, and withholding it so persistently from the public. The main reason, I take it, was that Milton thought the public unworthy of the work.

POEMS.

ON THE MORNING OF CHRIST'S NATIVITY.

Composed 1629.

I.

This is the month, and this the happy morn,
Wherein the Son of Heaven's eternal King,
Of wedded Maid and Virgin Mother born,
Our great redemption from above did bring;
For so the holy Sages once did sing,
That he our deadly forfeit should release,
And with his Father work us a perpetual peace.

II.

That glorious form, that light unsufferable,
And that far-beaming blaze of majesty,
Wherewith he wont at Heaven's high council-table
To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,
He laid aside; and, here with us to be,
Forsook the courts of everlasting day,
And chose with us a darksome house of mortal clay.

III.

Say, Heavenly Muse, shall not thy sacred vein
Afford a present to the Infant God?
Hast thou no verse, no hymn, or solemn strain,
To welcome him to this his new abode,
Now while the Heaven, by the sun's team untrod,
Hath took no print of the approaching light,
And all the spangled host keep watch in squadrons bright?

IV.

See how from far upon the eastern road
The star-led Wisards haste with odours sweet!
O run, prevent them with thy humble ode,
And lay it lowly at his blessed feet;
Have thou the honour first thy Lord to greet,
And join thy voice unto the angel quire,
From out his secret altar touched with hallowed fire.

THE HYMN.

I.

It was the winter wild,
While the Heaven-born child
All meanly wrapt in the rude manger lies;
Nature, in awe to him,
Had doffed her gaudy trim,
With her great Master so to sympathize:
It was no season then for her
To wanton with the sun, her lusty paramour.

II.

Only with speeches fair
She woos the gentle air
To hide her guilty front with innocent snow,
And on her naked shame,
Pollute with sinful blame,
The saintly veil of maiden white to throw:
Confounded, that her Maker's eyes
Should look so near upon her foul deformities.

III.

But he, her fears to cease,
Sent down the meek-eyed Peace;
She, crowned with olive green, came softly sliding
Down through the turning sphere,
His ready harbinger,
With turtle wing the amorous clouds dividing;
And, waving wide her myrtle wand,
She strikes a universal peace through sea and land.

IV.

No war, or battle's sound,
Was heard the world around;
The idle spear and shield were high uphung;
The hooked chariot stood
Unstained with hostile blood;
The trumpet spake not to the armèd throng;
And kings sat still with awful eye,
As if they surely knew their sovran Lord was by.

V.

But peaceful was the night
Wherein the Prince of Light
His reign of peace upon the earth began:
The winds, with wonder whist,
Smoothly the waters kissed,
Whispering new joys to the mild ocean,
Who now hath quite forgot to rave,
While birds of calm sit brooding on the charmèd wave.

VI.

The stars, with deep amaze,
Stand fixed in steadfast gaze,
Bending one way their precious influence;
And will not take their flight,
For all the morning light,
Or Lucifer that often warned them thence;
But in their glimmering orbs did glow,
Until their Lord himself bespake, and bid them go.

VII.

And, though the shady gloom
Had given day her room,
The sun himself withheld his wonted speed;
And hid his head for shame,
As his inferior flame
The new-enlightened world no more should need:
He saw a greater sun appear
Than his bright throne or burning axletree could bear.

VIII.

The shepherds on the lawn,
Or ere the point of dawn,
Sat simply chatting in a rustic row;
Full little thought they than
That the mighty Pan
Was kindly come to live with them below:
Perhaps their loves, or else their sheep,
Was all that did their silly thoughts so busy keep.

IX.

When such music sweet
Their hearts and ears did greet
As never was by mortal finger strook,
Divinely-warbled voice
Answering the stringed noise,
As all their souls in blissful rapture took:
The air, such pleasure loth to lose,
With thousand echoes still prolongs each heavenly close.

X.

Nature, that heard such sound
Beneath the hollow round
Of Cynthia's seat, the airy region thrilling,
Now was almost won
To think her part was done,
And that her reign had here its last fulfilling:
She knew such harmony alone
Could hold all Heaven and Earth in happier union.

XI.

At last surrounds their sight
A globe of circular light,
That with long beams the shamefaced Night arrayed;
The helmed Cherubim
And sworded Seraphim
Are seen in glittering ranks with wings displayed,
Harping in loud and solemn quire
With unexpressive notes to Heaven's new-born Heir.

XII.

Such music (as 'tis said)
Before was never made,
But when of old the Sons of Morning sung,
While the Creator great
His constellations set,
And the well-balanced world on hinges hung;
And cast the dark foundations deep,
And bid the weltering waves their oozy channel keep.

XIII.

Ring out, ye crystal spheres,
Once bless our human ears,
(If ye have power to touch our senses so);
And let your silver chime
Move in melodious time,
And let the bass of Heaven's deep organ blow;
And with your ninefold harmony
Make up full consort to the angelic symphony.

XIV.

For, if such holy song
Enwrap our fancy long,
Time will run back, and fetch the Age of Gold;
And speckled Vanity
Will sicken soon and die,
And leprous Sin will melt from earthly mould;
And Hell itself will pass away,
And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day.

XV.

Yea, Truth and Justice then
Will down return to men,
Orbed in a rainbow; and, like glories wearing,
Mercy will sit between,
Throned in celestial sheen,
With radiant feet the tissued clouds down steering;
And Heaven, as at some festival,
Will open wide the gates of her high palace-hall.

XVI.

But wisest Fate says no,
This must not yet be so;
The Babe lies yet in smiling infancy,
That on the bitter cross
Must redeem our loss,
So both himself and us to glorify:
Yet first to those ychained in sleep
The wakeful trump of doom must thunder through the deep,

XVII.

With such a horrid clang
As on Mount Sinai rang,
While the red fire and smouldering clouds outbrake:
The aged Earth, agast
With terror of that blast,
Shall from the surface to the centre shake;
When at the world's last session
The dreadful Judge in middle air shall spread his throne.

XVIII.

And then at last our bliss
Full and perfect is,
But now begins; for, from this happy day,
The old Dragon under ground,
In straiter limits bound,
Not half so far casts his usurpèd sway;
And, wrath to see his kingdom fail,
Swindges the scaly horror of his folded tail.

XIX.

The oracles are dumb;
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the archèd roof in words deceiving.
Apollo from his shrine
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the steep of Delphos leaving.
No nightly trance, or breathèd spell,
Inspires the pale-eyed priest from the prophetic cell.

XX.

The lonely mountains o'er,
And the resounding shore,
A voice of weeping heard and loud lament;
From haunted spring, and dale
Edged with poplar pale,
The parting Genius is with sighing sent:
With flower-inwoven tresses torn
The Nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets mourn.

XXI.

In consecrated earth,
And on the holy hearth,
The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint;
In urns and altars round,
A drear and dying sound
Affrights the Flamens at their service quaint;
And the chill marble seems to sweat,
While each peculiar power forgoes his wonted seat.

XXII.

Peor and Baälim
Forsake their temples dim,
With that twice-battered god of Palestine;
And moonèd Ashtaroth,
Heaven's queen and mother both,
Now sits not girt with tapers' holy shine:
The Libyc Hammon shrinks his horn;
In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammuz mourn.

XXIII.

And sullen Moloch, fled,
Hath left in shadows dread
His burning idol all of blackest hue:
In vain with cymbals' ring
They call the grisly king,
In dismal dance about the furnace blue:
The brutish gods of Nile as fast,
Isis, and Orus, and the dog Anubis, haste.

XXIV.

Nor is Osiris seen
In Memphian grove or green,
Trampling the unshowered grass with lowings loud;
Nor can he be at rest
Within his sacred chest;
Naught but profoundest Hell can be his shroud:
In vain with timbreled anthems dark
The sable-stolèd sorcerers bear his worshiped ark.

XXV.

He feels from Juda's land
The dreaded Infant's hand;
The rays of Bethlehem blind his dusky eyn;
Nor all the gods beside
Longer dare abide,
Not Typhon huge ending in snaky twine:
Our Babe, to show his Godhead true,
Can in his swaddling bands control the damnèd crew.

XXVI.

So, when the sun in bed,
Curtained with cloudy red,
Pillows his chin upon an orient wave,
The flocking shadows pale
Troop to the infernal jail;
Each fettered ghost slips to his several grave,
And the yellow-skirted fays
Fly after the night-steeds, leaving their moon-loved maze.

XXVII.

But see! the Virgin blest
Hath laid her Babe to rest:
Time is our tedious song should here have ending:
Heaven's youngest-teemèd star
Hath fixed her polished car,
Her sleeping Lord with handmaid lamp attending;
And all about the courtly stable
Bright-harnessed angels sit in order serviceable.

L'ALLEGRO.

HENCE, loathed Melancholy,
Of Cerberus and blackest Midnight born
In Stygian cave forlorn,
'Mongst horrid shapes, and shrieks, and sights unholy!
Find out some uncouth cell,
Where brooding Darkness spreads his jealous wings,
And the night-raven sings;
There, under ebon shades and low-browed rocks,
As ragged as thy locks,
In dark Cimmerian desert ever dwell.
But come, thou Goddess fair and free,
In Heaven ycleped Euphrosyne,
And by men heart-easing Mirth;
Whom lovely Venus at a birth,
With two sister Graces more,
To ivy-crownèd Bacchus bore:
Or whether (as some sager sing)
The frolic wind that breathes the spring,
Zephyr, with Aurora playing,
As he met her once a-Maying,

There on beds of violets blue,
And fresh-blown roses washed in dew,
Filled her with thee, a daughter fair,
So buxom, blithe, and debonair.
Haste thee, Nymph, and bring with thee
Jest and youthful Jollity,
Quips, and Cranks, and wanton Wiles,
Nods and Becks, and wreathèd Smiles,
Such as hang on Hebe's cheek,
And love to live in dimple sleek;
Sport that wrinkled Care derides,
And Laughter holding both his sides.
Come, and trip it as ye go,
On the light fantastic toe;
And in thy right hand lead with thee
The mountain nymph, sweet Liberty;
And, if I give thee honour due,
Mirth, admit me of thy crew,
To live with her, and live with thee,
In unreproved pleasures free;
To hear the lark begin his flight,
And singing startle the dull night,
From his watch-tower in the skies,
Till the dappled dawn doth rise;
Then to come, in spite of sorrow,
And at my window bid good-morrow,
Through the sweet-briar or the vine,
Or the twisted eglantine;
While the cock with lively din
Scatters the rear of Darkness thin;
And to the stack, or the barn-door,
Stoutly struts his dames before:

Oft listening how the hounds and horn
Cheerly rouse the slumbering Morn,
From the side of some hoar hill,
Through the high wood echoing shrill:
Sometime walking, not unseen,
By hedgerow elms, on hillocks green,
Right against the eastern gate,
Where the great sun begins his state,
Robed in flames and amber light,
The clouds in thousand liveries dight;
While the ploughman, near at hand,
Whistles o'er the furrowed land,
And the milkmaid singeth blithe,
And the mower whets his sithe,
And every shepherd tells his tale
Under the hawthorn in the dale.
Straight mine eye hath caught new pleasures,
Whilst the landskip round it measures:
Russet lawns, and fallows gray,
Where the nibbling flocks do stray;
Mountains on whose barren breast
The labouring clouds do often rest;
Meadows trim with daisies pied;
Shallow brooks, and rivers wide.
Towers and battlements it sees
Bosomed high in tufted trees,
Where perhaps some beauty lies,
The cynosure of neighbouring eyes.
Hard by, a cottage chimney smokes
From betwixt two aged oaks,
Where Corydon and Thyrsis met
Are at their savoury dinner set

Of herbs and other country messes,
Which the neat-handed Phillis dresses;
And then in haste her bower she leaves,
With Thestylis to bind the sheaves;
Or, if the earlier season lead,
To the tanned haycock in the mead.
  Sometimes with secure delight
The upland hamlets will invite,
When the merry bells ring round,
And the jocund rebecks sound
To many a youth and many a maid
Dancing in the chequered shade;
And young and old come forth to play
On a sunshine holiday,
Till the livelong daylight fail:
Then to the spicy nut-brown ale,
With stories told of many a feat,
How fairy Mab the junkets eat:
She was pinched and pulled, she said;
And he, by friar's lantern led,
Tells how the drudging goblin sweat
To earn his cream-bowl duly set,
When in one night, ere glimpse of morn,
His shadowy flail hath threshed the corn
That ten day-labourers could not end;
Then lies him down the lubbar fiend,
And, stretched out all the chimney's length,
Basks at the fire his hairy strength,
And crop-full out of doors he flings,
Ere the first cock his matin rings.
Thus done the tales, to bed they creep,
By whispering winds soon lulled asleep.

Towered cities please us then,
And the busy hum of men,
Where throngs of knights and barons bold,
In weeds of peace, high triumphs hold,
With store of ladies, whose bright eyes
Rain influence, and judge the prize
Of wit, or arms, while both contend
To win her grace whom all commend.
There let Hymen oft appear
In saffron robe, with taper clear,
And pomp, and feast, and revelry,
With masque and antique pageantry;
Such sights as youthful poets dream
On summer eves by haunted stream.
Then to the well-trod stage anon,
If Jonson's learned sock be on,
Or sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy's child,
Warble his native wood-notes wild,
And ever, against eating cares,
Lap me in soft Lydian airs
Married to immortal verse,
Such as the meeting soul may pierce,
In notes with many a winding bout
Of linkèd sweetness long drawn out
With wanton heed and giddy cunning,
The melting voice through mazes running,
Untwisting all the chains that tie
The hidden soul of harmony;
That Orpheus' self may heave his head
From golden slumber on a bed
Of heaped Elysian flowers, and hear
Such strains as would have won the ear

Of Pluto to have quite set free
His half-regained Eurydice.
These delights if thou canst give,
Mirth, with thee I mean to live.

IL PENSEROSO.

HENCE, vain deluding Joys,
The brood of Folly without father bred!
How little you bested,
Or fill the fixèd mind with all your toys!
Dwell in some idle brain,
And fancies fond with gaudy shapes possess,
As thick and numberless
As the gay motes that people the sun-beams,
Or likest hovering dreams,
The fickle pensioners of Morpheus' train.
But hail! thou Goddess sage and holy!
Hail! divinest Melancholy!
Whose saintly visage is too bright
To hit the sense of human sight,
And therefore to our weaker view
O'erlaid with black, staid Wisdom's hue;
Black, but such as in esteem
Prince Memnon's sister might beseem,
Or that starred Ethiop queen that strove
To set her beauty's praise above

The sea nymphs, and their powers offended.
Yet thou art higher far descended:
Thee bright-haired Vesta long of yore
To solitary Saturn bore;
His daughter she (in Saturn's reign
Such mixture was not held a stain).
Oft in glimmering bowers and glades
He met her, and in secret shades
Of woody Ida's inmost grove,
Whilst yet there was no fear of Jove.
Come, pensive Nun, devout and pure,
Sober, stedfast, and demure,
All in a robe of darkest grain,
Flowing with majestic train,
And sable stole of cypress lawn
Over thy decent shoulders drawn.
Come, but keep thy wonted state,
With even step, and musing gait,
And looks commercing with the skies,
Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes:
There held in holy passion still,
Forget thyself to marble, till
With a sad leaden downward cast
Thou fix them on the earth as fast.
And join with thee calm Peace and Quiet,
Spare Fast, that oft with gods doth diet,
And hears the Muses in a ring
Aye round about Jove's altar sing.
And add to these retired Leisure,
That in trim gardens takes his pleasure;
But, first and chiefest, with thee bring
Him that yon soars on golden wing,

Guiding the fiery-wheelèd throne,
The Cherub Contemplation;
And the mute Silence hist along,
'Less Philomel will deign a song,
In her sweetest saddest plight,
Smoothing the rugged brow of Night,
While Cynthia checks her dragon yoke
Gently o'er the accustomed oak,
Sweet bird, that shunn'st the noise of folly,
Most musical, most melancholy!
Thee, chauntress, oft the woods among
I woo, to hear thy even-song;
And, missing thee, I walk unseen
On the dry smooth-shaven green,
To behold the wandering moon,
Riding near her highest noon,
Like one that had been led astray
Through the Heaven's wide pathless way,
And oft, as if her head she bowed,
Stooping through a fleecy cloud.
Oft, on a plat of rising ground,
I hear the far-off curfew sound,
Over some wide-watered shore
Swinging slow with sullen roar;
Or, if the air will not permit,
Some still removèd place will fit,
Where glowing embers through the room
Teach light to counterfeit a gloom,
Far from all resort of mirth,
Save the cricket on the hearth,
Or the bellman's drowsy charm
To bless the doors from nightly harm.

Or let my lamp at midnight hour
Be seen in some high lonely tower,
Where I may oft outwatch the Bear,
With thrice great Hermes, or unsphere
The spirit of Plato to unfold
What worlds or what vast regions hold
The immortal mind that hath forsook
Her mansion in this fleshly nook;
And of those dæmons that are found
In fire, air, flood, or under ground,
Whose power hath a true consent
With planet, or with element.
Sometime let gorgeous Tragedy
In sceptred pall come sweeping by,
Presenting Thebes, or Pelops' line,
Or the tale of Troy divine,
Or what (though rare) of later age
Ennobled hath the buskined stage.
But, O sad Virgin, that thy power
Might raise Musæus from his bower,
Or bid the soul of Orpheus sing
Such notes as warbled to the string
Drew iron tears down Pluto's cheek,
And made Hell grant what Love did seek.
Or call up him that left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold,
Of Camball, and of Algarsife,
And who had Canace to wife,
That owned the virtuous ring and glass,
And of the wondrous horse of brass
On which the Tartar king did ride;
And if aught else great bards beside

In sage and solemn tunes have sung,
Of turneys, and of trophies hung,
Of forests, and enchantments drear,
Where more is meant than meets the ear.
Thus, Night, oft see me in thy pale career,
Till civil-suited Morn appear,
Not tricked and frounced, as she was wont
With the Attic boy to hunt,
But kerchieft in a comely cloud,
While rocking winds are piping loud,
Or ushered with a shower still,
When the gust hath blown his fill,
Ending on the rustling leaves
With minute-drops from off the eaves.
And when the sun begins to fling
His flaring beams, me, Goddess, bring
To archèd walks of twilight groves,
And shadows brown that Sylvan loves,
Of pine, or monumental oak,
Where the rude axe with heavèd stroke
Was never heard the nymphs to daunt,
Or fright them from their hallowed haunt.
There in close covert by some brook,
Where no profaner eye may look,
Hide me from Day's garish eye,
While the bee with honied thigh,
That at her flowery work doth sing,
And the waters murmuring,
With such consort as they keep,
Entice the dewy-feathered Sleep.
And let some strange mysterious dream
Wave at his wings in airy stream

Of lively portraiture displayed,
Softly on my eyelids laid;
And, as I wake, sweet music breathe
Above, about, or underneath,
Sent by some Spirit to mortals good,
Or the unseen Genius of the wood.
But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloister's pale,
And love the high embowèd roof,
With antic pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.
There let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced quire below,
In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all Heaven before mine eyes.
And may at last my weary age
Find out the peaceful hermitage,
The hairy gown and mossy cell,
Where I may sit and rightly spell
Of every star that Heaven doth shew,
And every herb that sips the dew;
Till old experience do attain
To something like prophetic strain.
These pleasures, Melancholy, give,
And I with thee will choose to live.

LYCIDAS.

"LYCIDAS: *In this Monody the author bewails a learned Friend, unfortunately drown'd in his passage from Chester on the Irish Seas*, 1637. *And by occasion foretells the ruine of our corrupted Clergie then in their height*".

YET once more, O ye laurels, and once more,
Ye myrtles brown, with ivy never sere,
I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude,
And with forced fingers rude
Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.
Bitter constraint, and sad occasion dear,
Compels me to disturb your season due;
For Lycidas is dead, dead ere his prime,
Young Lycidas, and hath not left his peer.
Who would not sing for Lycidas? he knew
Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.
He must not float upon his watery bier
Unwept, and welter to the parching wind,
Without the meed of some melodious tear.
Begin then, Sisters of the sacred well,
That from beneath the seat of Jove doth spring;
Begin, and somewhat loudly sweep the string.

Hence with denial vain and coy excuse;
So may some gentle Muse
With lucky words favour my destined urn,
And as he passes turn,
And bid fair peace be to my sable shroud.
For we were nursed upon the self-same hill,
Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade and rill:
Together both, ere the high lawns appeared
Under the opening eyelids of the Morn,
We drove a-field, and both together heard
What time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn,
Battening our flocks with the fresh dews of night,
Oft till the star that rose at evening bright
Toward Heaven's descent had sloped his westering wheel.
Meanwhile the rural ditties were not mute,
Tempered to the oaten flute;
Rough Satyrs danced, and Fauns with cloven heel
From the glad sound would not be absent long,
And old Damœtas loved to hear our song.
But, O the heavy change, now thou art gone,
Now thou art gone, and never must return!
Thee, Shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves,
With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown,
And all their echoes mourn.
The willows, and the hazel copses green,
Shall now no more be seen
Fanning their joyous leaves to thy soft lays.
As killing as the canker to the rose,
Or taint-worm to the weanling herds that graze,
Or frost to flowers that their gay wardrobe wear,
When first the white-thorn blows:
Such, Lycidas, thy loss to shepherd's ear.

Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
Closed o'er the head of your loved Lycidas?
For neither were ye playing on the steep
Where your old bards, the famous Druids, lie,
Nor on the shaggy top of Mona high,
Nor yet where Deva spreads her wisard stream.
Ay me! I fondly dream,
Had ye been there—for what could that have done?
What could the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,
The Muse herself, for her enchanting son,
Whom universal Nature did lament,
When by the rout that made the hideous roar,
His gory visage down the stream was sent,
Down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore?
Alas! what boots it with uncessant care
To tend the homely slighted shepherd's trade,
And strictly meditate the thankless Muse?
Were it not better done, as others use,
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,
Or with the tangles of Neæra's hair?
Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
(That last infirmity of noble mind)
To scorn delights, and live laborious days;
But the fair guerdon when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-spun life. "But not the praise,"
Phœbus replied, and touched my trembling ears:
"Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
Nor in the glistering foil
Set off to the world, nor in broad rumour lies,
But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,

And perfect witness of all-judging Jove;
As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
Of so much fame in Heaven expect thy meed."
O fountain Arethuse, and thou honoured flood,
Smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds,
That strain I heard was of a higher mood:
But now my oat proceeds,
And listens to the herald of the sea,
That came in Neptune's plea.
He asked the waves, and asked the felon winds,
What hard mishap hath doomed this gentle swain?
And questioned every gust of rugged wings
That blows from off each beaked promontory.
They knew not of his story;
And sage Hippotades their answer brings:
That not a blast was from his dungeon strayed,
The air was calm, and on the level brine
Sleek Panope with all her sisters played.
It was that fatal and perfidious bark,
Built in the eclipse, and rigged with curses dark,
That sunk so low that sacred head of thine.
Next Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,
His mantle hairy and his bonnet sedge,
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge
Like to that sanguine flower inscribed with woe.
"Ah! who hath reft" (quoth he) "my dearest pledge?"
Last came, and last did go,
The Pilot of the Galilean Lake;
Two massy keys he bore of metals twain
(The golden opes, the iron shuts amain);
He shook his mitred locks, and stern bespake:
"How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,

Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold!
Of other care they little reckoning make
Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast,
And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
A sheep-hook, or have learnt aught else the least
That to the faithful herdman's art belongs!
What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;
And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;
The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread;
Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said;
But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more."
Return, Alpheus, the dread voice is past
That shrunk thy streams; return, Sicilian Muse,
And call the vales, and bid them hither cast
Their bells, and flowrets of a thousand hues.
Ye valleys low, where the mild whispers use
Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,
On whose fresh lap the swart star sparely looks,
Throw hither all your quaint enamelled eyes,
That on the green turf suck the honied showers,
And purple all the ground with vernal flowers.
Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,
The tufted crow-toe, and pale jessamine,
The white pink, and the pansy freaked with jet,
The glowing violet,

The musk rose, and the well-attired woodbine,
With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,
And every flower that sad embroidery wears;
Bid amaranthus all his beauty shed,
And daffadillies fill their cups with tears,
To strew the laureate hearse where Lycid lies.
For, so to interpose a little ease,
Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise;
Ay me! whilst thee the shores and sounding seas
Wash far away, where'er thy bones are hurled;
Whether beyond the stormy Hebrides,
Where thou perhaps, under the whelming tide,
Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world;
Or whether thou, to our moist vows denied,
Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old,
Where the great Vision of the guarded mount
Looks toward Namancos and Bayona's hold:
Look homeward, Angel, now, and melt with ruth;
And, O ye dolphins, waft the hapless youth.

Weep no more, woeful shepherds, weep no more,
For Lycidas, your sorrow, is not dead,
Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor;
So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky:
So Lycidas sunk low, but mounted high,
Through the dear might of Him that walked the waves,
Where, other groves and other streams along,
With nectar pure his oozy locks he laves,
And hears the unexpressive nuptial song,
In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love.

There entertain him all the saints above,
In solemn troops and sweet societies,
That sing, and singing in their glory move,
And wipe the tears for ever from his eyes.
Now, Lycidas, the shepherds weep no more;
Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore,
In thy large recompense, and shalt be good
To all that wander in that perilous flood.

Thus sang the uncouth swain to the oaks and rills,
While the still Morn went out with sandals gray;
He touched the tender stops of various quills,
With eager thought warbling his Doric lay:
And now the sun had stretched out all the hills,
And now was dropt into the western bay;
At last he rose, and twitched his mantle blue:
To-morrow to fresh woods, and pastures new.

NOTES.

NATIVITY ODE.

5. i.e. the Hebrew prophets. There is a suggestion of the verse in *L'Al.* 17, "Or whether (as some sager sing)."

6. i.e. that he might cancel the penalty of death under which sin had laid us. Cf. *P. L.* III. 218—221, "upon his own head draw The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set." *Forfeit* is from O. F. *forfet* or *forfait* = Low Lat. *forisfactum, forefactum.* Cf. the *Promptorium*, "Forfetynge, or forfeture. *Forefaccio, forefactura.*" The original notion was 'acting criminally.' Cf. Palsgrave, *Lesclaircissement* (1530), "what have I forfayted against you?" and Minsheu (1617), "forfet.....*delictum, culpam denotat.*" The verb *forfeten* = 'to do wrong' (*Mayhew and Skeat* s. v.) occurs in *Piers the Plowman.* Later from the sense 'crime' came the meaning 'penalty incurred by crime.' Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 149, "let the forfeit Be nominated for an equal pound Of your fair flesh;" and "penal forfeit" in *S. A.* 508.

7. *Work*, i.e. produce; cf. *The Tempest*, I. 1. 24, "if you can..... *work* the *peace* of the present."

8, 9. Cf. the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 69, 70:

"Far within the bosom bright
Of blazing Majesty and Light;"

with *Arc.* 2. Milton's poetry, especially the early lyric work, is curiously full of repetition. Lighting on some beautiful phrase he seems loth not to employ it again, perhaps in a slightly varied form. Gray may have had this stanza in his mind's eye when he wrote the fine lines on Milton in *The Progress of Poesy*, III. 2.

10. *Wont*, i.e. was wont; a past tense. For *wont* as a present cf. *Com.* 331—332, "and thou, fair moon, That wont'st to love the traveller's benison." So *S. A.* 1487. They are the tenses of the verb *won* = (i) 'dwell,' (ii) 'be used to.' *Won* in the former sense comes in

P. L. VII. 457, "where he wons In forest wild." It is common in Chaucer and Spenser; cf. *The Sompnoures Tale* 463, "there wonyd a man of great honour," and the *F. Q.* III. 5. 27. The verb survives in the past parts. *wont* and *wonted*.

13. *Courts*. A favourite word with Milton in this connection (cf. *P. L.* VI. 889); due, no doubt, to Scripture, where it is so often used of the Temple of the Jews. Cf. *Psalms*, xcvi. 8, c. 4, cxvi. 19.

14. Cf. *The Passion*, 15—17.

15. Cf. *P. L.* I. 6—8:

"Sing, Heavenly Muse, that, on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd who first taught the chosen seed."

The manner of the invocation is borrowed from the classical poets; and in *Lycidas* where the style is mainly classical Milton rightly appeals (ll. 15 *et seq.*) to the Muses of Greek mythology. But here, as in his sacred epic, he addresses the Muse of Hebrew poetry, the power whom he supposes to have inspired Moses and the prophets and psalmists.

Vein = humour, disposition; "I am not in the giving vein," *Richard III.* IV. 2. 119. L. *vena* = conveyer, viz. of the blood; connected with *veho*. Hence the metaphor of being carried in the direction of a thing = inclination.

19. In Shakespeare *untread* = retrace, e.g. in *Merchant of V.* II. 6. 10; *un* being in that case the *verbal* prefix expressing reversal of an action (cognate with Gk. *ἀντί*), and not the *negative* prefix (cognate with Gk. *ἀν-*, *ἀ-*, Lat. *in-*). Cf. the difference between *unsaid* and *unsay*.

20. *Print*, i.e. footprint, the metaphor suggested by *untrod*. Cf. *Arc.* 85 ("no print of step hath been"), and *printless* (borrowed from the *Tempest*, v. 34) in *Com.* 897.

21. *Spangled*, i.e. bright as though with spangles, or *spangs;* cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* IV. 2. 45, and Bacon's directions for the costumes in Masque-entertainments, "Spangs, as they are of no great Cost, so they are of most Glory," *Essays*, p. 157, *Golden Treas.* ed. Cotgrave has, "Papilloter. To glisten.....also, to bespangle, or set with spangles." A favourite word with writers of this period; applied especially to dewdrops (cf. the *Hesperides*, Grosart, I. 116, II. 67), and the stars, as in *P. L.* VII. 384, and *Com.* 1003, where "spangled sheen" is from *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 29. See *Lyc.* 170. *A. S. spang* = a metal clasp; *spangle* was used of any flashing ornament, e.g. of the material now called tinsel.

Keep watch. Cf. "the spheres of watchful fire," *Vacation Exercise*, 40, *Com.* 113, and the fifth *Elegy*, 38.

Squadrons bright. Cf. Sylvester (Grosart's ed. I. 24),

"Heav'n's glorious hoast in nimble squadrons flyes."

Repeated in *P. L.* VI. 16. *Squadron*=O. F. *esquadron*, Ital. *squadrone*, one of the military terms introduced into France from Italy during the early years of the XVIth cent. From Late Lat. *exquadrare.*

23. *Star-led.* See *St Matthew* ii. 2. Cf. *P. L.* XII. 360—363.

Wisards, i.e. the "wise men" of *St Matthew* ii. 2. *Wizard* in a good sense is very uncommon. In Shakespeare the word always bears, as now, a bad meaning; similarly in the Bible, e.g. in *Leviticus* xix. 31, xx. 27. Spenser, however, uses it as a term of compliment; cf. the *F. Q.* III. I. 16, "But the sage wisard telles, as he has redd, That it importunes death." Cf. also *Lyc.* 55, and perhaps *Com.* 872. The first half of *wisard* (which came into E. through O. F. *wischard*=*guischard;* for *g*=*w* see l. 124, note on *oozy*) is the Icelandic *viskr*, wise, sagacious, from the base *wid* seen in *wit*, *wise*, Germ. *wissen*, and on the side of the classical languages in *ἰδεῖν*, *videre* and cognates. The suffix *-ard* has an emphasizing force; cf. French *-ard*, Germ. *-hart.* Almost all the words with this termination are depreciatory in sense, such as *dotard*, *dullard*, *coward* etc. See Earle, *Philology*, p. 331.

Odours sweet, i.e. the frankincense and myrrh, *St Matthew* ii. 11.

24. *Prevent*, i.e. anticipate. Cf. *Com.* 285, "forestalling night prevented them." Now limited to the sense 'hinder,' but in early E. it bore several meanings which pointed to its etymology, L. *prævenio.* Cf. I *Thessalonians* iv. 15, "we which are alive...shall not prevent them which are asleep," i.e. precede. Cf. also the *Collect*, "We pray thee that thy grace may always prevent and follow us," i.e. help, from the notion of 'coming to meet.'

27. See stanzas IX. XI. XIII. Referring to *St Luke* ii. 13, 14.

28. Cf. *Isaiah* vi. 6, 7, "Then flew one of the seraphims unto me, having a live coal in his hand, which he had taken with the tongs from off the altar: and he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips." Milton has the same reference twice in *The Reason of Church Government.* Speaking of himself, he says that his inspiration comes through "devout prayer to that eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim, with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases," *P. W.* II. p. 481; see also p. 494. Pope wrote in *The Messiah*, 5, 6:

"O thou my voice inspire
Who touched Isaiah's hallowed lips with fire."

28. *Secret=secretus*, i.e. set apart, retired; cf. *P. L.* I. 6, 7, "the secret top Of Oreb, or of Sinai."

31. *St Luke* ii. 8, 12. Cf. *The Likeliest Means*, "For notwithstanding the gaudy superstition of some devoted still ignorantly to temples, we may be well assured, that he who disdained not to be laid in a manger, disdains not to be preached in a barn," *P. W.* III. 26.

33. *Doff=do off.* Cf. Sherwood's Appendix to Cotgrave (1650): "To doff, *c'est à dire*, to Doe off, to put off. *Oster.*" So *don=do on. Daff* in Shakespeare is perhaps a provincial form of *doff;* cf. *Othello*, IV. 2. 176, where the second Folio substitutes the more usual word.

Gaudy. Always an uncomplimentary word; cf. Cotgrave, "Gorgias, Gorgeous, gaudie, flaunting, brave." So Milton in his prose-works; cf. the note on l. 31, and the tract *Of Reformation*, "in a flaring tire bespeckled with all gaudy allurements," *P. W.* II. 382. Bacon uses the substantive *gauderie*=display, in his essay *Of Greatnesse of Kingdomes*, "That of the Triumph, amongst the Romans, was not Pageants or Gauderie," p. 129, *Golden Treas.* ed.; and *gauded*=ornamented in Chaucer's *Prologue*, 159. From Middle E. *gaude*, a piece of finery, =Lat. *gaudium*, which in Late Lat. meant a large bead ornament.

36. *Wanton.* See *Lyc.* 137.

Paramour, i.e. lover; not necessarily a contemptuous word then. Cf. Spenser's *Prothal.* 16, 17, "And crowne their Paramours Against the Brydale day." Properly *paramour* was an adverbial phrase, from Fr. *par amour*, i.e. *per amorem.*

37. *Fair*, i.e. flattering; cf. the idiom 'speak fair,' as in *Hamlet*, IV. 1. 36:

"Go seek him out; speak fair, and bring the body."

38. *Woos.* A less emphatic word then than now; in Shakespeare it often means no more than 'ask,' e.g. in *Much Ado*, II. 3. 50, "sing, and let me woo no more."

41. *Pollute.* In the English of this time we find many quasi-participles, the form of which has been influenced by that of the Latin word whence they are derived. Thus *pollute=pollutus*; cf. *addict=addictus*, "beyng more earnestly addict to hear," *Utopia*, p. 168. Cf. the same book (Pitt Press ed.), p. 148, "*reject* from all common administration," and More's *Richard III.* p. 10, "whose mynd, in tender youth *infect*, shal redily fal to mischief." Especially common are

adjectival participles in *-ate* = Lat. *-atus*, where modern E. requires *-ated*. Numbers occur in Shakespeare, e.g. *consecrate* ("the imperial seat, to virtue consecrate," *Titus*, I. I. 14), *situate*, *frustrate*.

41. *Blame*, i.e. sin, not reproof; cf. *Richard III.* V. I. 29, "wrong hath but wrong, and blame the due of blame," i.e. crime gets what it deserves. So Milton in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 27, "whether by mischance or blame."

42. *Maiden*. Adjectival; cf. *Com.* 843, "still she retains Her maiden gentleness;" and *The Two Kinsmen*, I. I. 4, "maiden pink, of odour faint." See l. 188, note.

44. *Near*, i.e. closely.

45—52. The stanza is exactly descriptive of episodes such as frequently took place in the Masques of the period, and Milton may have witnessed the descent of Peace on the stage as a *dea ex machina*. Cf. the opening of *Comus*, and the following stage-direction in Jonson's *Golden Age Restored*, "Loud Music: Pallas in her chariot descending, to a softer music." Pope paraphrased Milton's lines in his *Messiah*, 19, 20:

"Peace o'er the earth her olive wand extend,
And white-robed Innocence from heaven descend;"

'white-robed' being borrowed from the *Death of a Fair Infant*, 54.

45. *Cease*, i.e. make to cease. Cf. Bacon (*Advancement of Learning*, I. 56) "not only ceasing persecution, but giving way to the advancement of Christians;" or More's *Richard III.* "thereby shall be ceased the slanderous rumoure," Pitt Press ed. p. 25.

46. Cf. "pure-eyed Faith," *Com.* 213. The use of these personified abstractions is characteristic of Milton's early style; cf. *Il Pen.* and *L'Al. passim*. In XVIIIth century poetry this rather tricky artifice became a mannerism. Gray was a conspicuous offender. It was an aspect of the "poetical diction" which Wordsworth denounced in the famous preface to the *Lyrical Ballads*, 1815. Usually the substantive is accompanied, as here, by an adjective.

47. *Olive*. Cf. the description of an allegorical representative of Peace in Ben Jonson's *Entertainments at the Coronation of James I.*: "The first and principal person in the Temple was Irene or Peace. She was placed aloft..., her attire white, semined with stars: a wreath of olive on her head, on her shoulder a silver dove. In her left hand she held forth an olive branch." The *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal. April*, explains why "the Olive was wont to be the ensigne of Peace and quietnesse."

48. *The turning sphere*, i.e. spheres revolving round the earth; see note on l. 125, and cf. the fragment from the *Hist. of Britain*:

"Goddess of Shades, and Huntress, who at will
Walk'st on the rolling sphere," *P. W.* v. 171.

The phrase of our text is found in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Grosart, I. 53). Cf. "wheeling poles" in Milton's *Vacation Exercise*, 34.

49. *Harbinger*, i.e. precursor. Milton has the word some half-a-dozen times; cf. the *Song on May Morning*, where in imitation of *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 380, he calls the morning-star "Day's harbinger," i.e. forerunner. In *P. R.* I. 71, and I. 277, John the Baptist is the 'harbinger' of Christ. Explained in Bullokar's *Expositor* (1616), "Harbinger, one that taketh vp lodging for others;" i.e. the officer who bore this title went on in advance to procure the night's shelter (*harbourage*) for his royal master. Cf. Florio, (1598), "Foriere, a harbinger for a camp or a prince;" so Palsgrave and Cotgrave s. v. *fourrier*. Chaucer uses the form *herbergeour;* cf. the *Canterbury Tales*, 5417, "by herbergeours that wenten him before." Middle E. *herberwe* = modern E. *harbour*, is from the Icelandic *herbergi*, an army-shelter; cf. Germ. *heer* = 'an army,' and Germ. *bergen* = 'to conceal.' See note on *Com.* 423, where *unharboured* = yielding no harbourage. For the intrusive *n* in *harbinger* cf. *messenger* = O. E. *messager; passenger* = O. E. *passager*. See Morris, *Outlines*, p. 72.

50. *Turtle*, i.e. the wings of the turtle-dove, the emblem of faithful love as in Shakespeare's *Phœnix and the Turtle*. *Turtle* was commonly used so; cf. the *Song of Solomon* ii. 12.

51. *Waving wide*. Cf. the compound *wide-waving* applied to the fiery sword that guarded the access to the Tree of Life, *P. L.* XI. 121. For Milton's favourite form of alliteration see *Lyc.* 13, and *Arc.* 47, note. Cf. *wide-watered*, *Il Pen.* 75, *wide-wasting*, *P. L.* VI. 253.

Myrtle wand. The symbol of peace; one of Collins' many borrowings from Milton, cf. the *Ode to Liberty:*

"Concord, whose myrtle wand can steep
Even anger's bloodshot eyes in sleep."

52. *Strikes*, i.e. causes by striking; cf. Jonson, *Masque of Queens*,

"And strike a blindness through these blazing tapers."

So in the common phrase "strike terror into." See Shakespeare, *Troilus*, II. 2. 210. Mrs Browning has

"God strikes a silence through you all,
He giveth His beloved sleep."

53—54. Historically true of the Roman Empire.

56. *Hooked chariot*, i.e. the *covinus* "variously described or referred to as *falcifer*, *falcatus*, *rostratus*" (Hales). Compare Spenser, *F. Q.* v. 8. 28, "A charret hye, With yron wheels and hookes arm'd dreadfully."

59—60. These lines are a good example of the effect which poetry may produce by perfect simplicity of style such as Wordsworth advocated and, except perhaps in his *Odes*, adopted. Noticeable too is the contrast between the naturalness of this stanza and the ornate description in the preceding one.

59. *Awful*, i.e. filled with awe; cf. *Richard II.* III. 3. 76, "to pay their awful duty." Used actively in *Pericles*, second prologue, 4, "awful both in deed and word," i.e. showing awe.

60. *Sovran.* This form (cf. Ital. *sovrano*) is invariable in *P. L.*; so *sovranty*, *P. L.* II. 446, XII. 35. In *P. R.* I. 84 the early editions have *sov'raign*, which is closer to the modern form *sovereign* = O. F. *soverain*, Lat. *superanus.* Trench pointed out that in English "all the words of dignity, state, honour, and preeminence, with one remarkable exception (i.e. *King*) descend to us" from the Normans.

62—63. Cf. Wesley's lines

"Hail! the heavenly Prince of Peace!
Hail! the Sun of Righteousness!"

where he is quoting partly from *Isaiah* ix. 6, partly from *Malachi* iv. 2. The whole of the *Christmas Hymn* may be compared with the *Nativity Ode:* the two poets drew on the same source of inspiration, the Scriptures: hence the coincidences in their language. As an instance of this compare Wesley's third stanza with the following passage from Milton's *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence*, "arising to what climate soever he turn him, like that Sun of Righteousness that sent him, *with healing in his wings*, and new light to break in upon the chill and gloomy hearts of his hearers," *P. W.* III. p. 83. The allusion there is to the verse in *Malachi*, which Wesley scarcely altered.

63—4. Imitated from the *Tempest*, I. 2. 376—379:

"Come unto these yellow sands,
And then take hands:
Court'sied when you have, and kiss'd
The wild waves whist."

In each passage *whist* is probably a participle = 'hushed;' cf. Lyly, *Maid's Metamorphosis*, "but everything is quiet, whist and still;" or Thomas Watson's *Eglogve* upon the death of Walsingham,

"But *smaller birds* that sweetly sing and play,
be whist and still."

Some editors take *hist* in *Il Pen.* 55, to be a past part.; see note on that line. In any case *whist* and *hist* are identical, being originally onomatopoeic interjections used to enforce silence. Cf. *Chut*, one of the few imitative words in French. Cotgrave, s. v. *houische*, writes, "an interjection whereby silence is imposed, husht, whist, ist, not a word for your life." Similarly Boyer, "Whist, (an interjection of silence) *St, Paix, Silence, Chut.*"

66. *Ocean.* Probably a trisyllable; cf. *Titus Andronicus*, IV. 2. 101, "for all the water in the ocean."

64—67. We may note the striking effect of the *s* sounds in these verses; the recurrent sibilants suggest the action described.

68. Cf. *Love's L. L.* v. 2. 933. The "bird of calm" is the halcyon, and Milton alludes to the classical belief "that during the seven days before, and as many after, the shortest day of the year, while the bird *Alcyon* was breeding, there always prevailed calms at sea," *Classical Dict.* To this superstition must be traced the expression ἀλκυονίδες ἡμέραι, used by Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1594, and Englished in the proverbial saying 'halcyon days'=fair weather; cf. 1 *Hen. VI.* I. 2. 131. Hence also comes the metaphorical sense of *alcedonia*=tranquillity, *alcedo* in Latin being one name of this bird. Cf. Plautus, *Casina*, prologue, 26 *tranquillum est; alcedonia sunt circum Forum*, i.e. things are quiet about the Forum. Other references in the classics are *Theocritus*, VII. 57; *Plautus*, *Pœnuli*, I. 1. 141—2, and *Pliny*, X. 32. 47; see Holland's translation (1601) of the latter: "They (i.e. the halcyons) lay and sit about midwinter when daies be shortest: and the time whiles they are broodie is called the Halcyon daies, for during that season the sea is calme and navigable especially on the coast of Sicilies." Sir Thomas Browne (*Vulgar Errors*, book III. chap. x.) discusses how the fable arose.

Charmèd, i.e. laid under a spell. *Charm* in the English of this period nearly always implies 'working with a charm.' So in *Othello*, III. 4. 57, *charmer* means 'enchantress.' *Charming*=delightful, pleasing, is a later use; the word weakened as the belief in magic declined. See note on *enchanting* in *Lyc.* 59.

71. *One way*, i.e. to the birthplace of the "heaven-born child."

Influence, Late Lat. *influentia*, was applied to the power exerted by celestial bodies upon the earth, and upon men's lives, fortunes, characters; it was in fact a term borrowed from the terminology of astrologers, and occurs very frequently in XVIIth century writers. Cf. *Job* xxxviii. 31 (which Milton adapts in *P. L.* VII. 374, 375),

"canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades." Bacon in the essay *Of Vicissitude* alludes to the belief that "the Celestiall Bodies, have more accurate Influences, upon these Things below," *Golden Treasury*, ed. p. 233. Cowley complained

"The star, that did my being frame,
Was but a lambent flame,
And some small light it did dispence,
But neither heat nor influence."

Essays (Pitt Press ed.), p. 174.

For Shakespeare see *Hamlet*, I. 1. 119, and *Lear*, I. 2. 136, where Edmund ridicules the whole theory of "planetary influence;" for Milton, cf. *L'Al.* 122, *Com.* 336, *P. L.* IV. 669, especially this last passage. The once prevalent belief in astrology has bequeathed to our language a number of words, such as *saturnine* (see *Il Pen.* 24, note), *jovial*, *martial*, *disastrous*.

73. *For*, i.e. in spite of; when so used *for* is followed by *all*. Among numerous instances in Shakespeare cf. 3 *Hen. VI.* v. 6. 20, "for all his wings, the fool was drown'd." Probably the *all* was intended to give emphasis; see Abbott, *Shaksp. Gram.* p. 103.

74. *Lucifer*, i.e. "Venus starre, otherwise called Hesperus, and Vesper, and Lucifer, both because he seemeth to be one of the brightest of starres, and also first ryseth, and setteth last," *Sheph. Cal. December* (*Glosse*). Cf. *P. L.* VII. 131—133, and X. 425, 426. Cf. the Greek names of the planet, Φωσφόρος and Ἑωσφόρος.

76. *Bespake*. Originally *bespeak* was used "with some notion of objection or remonstrance," *New E. Dict.;* later it came to be equivalent to *speak*, and is often so used by Milton, e.g. in *P. R.* I. 43,

"With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespake."

So *Lyc.* 112. In Shakespeare the verb usually retains the transitive force of the prefix *be*; cf. *Twelfth Night*, v. 192, "I bespeak you fair."

78. *Her*. Milton avoids using *it's*. See note on l. 106.

80. Cf. *P. L.* 34, 35, "at whose sight all the stars Hide their diminished heads."

81. *As*, i.e. as if; cf. *The Winter's Tale*, I. 2. 369:

"The king hath on him such a countenance
As he had lost some province."

Dr Abbott compares the use of *and* or *an* with a subjunctive in Elizabethan E. (cf. *Much Ado*, I. 1. 192, "An she were not possessed with a fury"), and explains that the hypothesis, the *if*, is contained not in the conjunction, but in the *mood* of the verb; when the subjunctive fell

into disuse it was felt to be too weak to express the condition, and *if* was added to the conjunction. *Shaksp. Gram.* pp. 73, 76.

82. *New-enlightened.* Milton has a number of similar compounds, e.g. *new-entrusted* (*Com.* 36), *new-enlivened* (*Com.* 228), *new-spangled* (*Lyc.* 170).

84. Cf. "glowing axle" (of the sun's chariot) in *Com.* 96. *Tree*, from the Aryan base seen in Gk. δρῦς, means wood, timber in O. E. Cf. *The Milleres Tale*, 579, where it is used of the cross of Christ.

85. It is curious that Milton should take the narrative of the Scriptures (cf. *St Luke* ii. 8, "and there were in the same country shepherds abiding in the field"), and treat it in the style of pastoral poetry. In respect of manner and literary association this stanza would not have been out of place had it occurred in the *Shepheards Cal.* Perhaps Milton was imitating Spenser. Cf. l. 89.

Lawn, i.e. pasture. Strictly *lawn*='a cleared place in a wood;' cf. the *Promptorium*, "lawnde of a wode. *Saltus;*" later came the notion of any open ground, free from trees. Thus Palsgrave gives "Launde, a playne, *launde*," and Way in his edition of the *Promptorium* quotes (p. 291) from the *Ortus Vocabulorum* (compiled about 1440), "*Indago*, a parke, or a lawnde." Milton has the word very often; see *Lyc.* 25, *L'Al.* 71, *Il Pen.* 35. The earlier form was *laund;* the *d* dropped out. Probably from French *lande*, 'waste land,' German *land.* Cognates are *lane*, and Dutch *laan*, an alley.

86. *Or ere*, i.e. before. *Or*=before was quite common; cf. *Chaucer's Dream*, 585, "long while was or he might braide," i.e. rise; and Ascham's *Scholemaster*, "in this place, or I procede farder, I will now declare," p. 149, Bohn's ed. But the idiom *or ere*, especially as used by Milton, is noticeable. We find in O. E. three combinations: *or ere* (several times in Shakespeare), *or ever* (several times in the A. V.), and *ere ever* (see Mr Aldis Wright's *Bible Word-Book*). The following examples illustrate each:

"I was set up from everlasting...or ever the earth was made," *Proverbs* viii. 23;

"Or ere these shoes were old," *Hamlet*, I. 2. 147; and

"Ere I had ever seen that day," *Hamlet*, I. 2. 183.

In each of these cases we have a *clause* constructed with the conjunction; but Milton treats *or ere* as a *preposition.*

Again, *or* and *ere* are identical, being but variant forms of O. E. *ǣr*, before; consequently the phrase *or ere* is tautological. It may have arisen through a mistaken belief that *ere=ever.*

Point of dawn. Cf. Fr. *point du jour*, and *poindre* = 'to dawn.'

87. *Chat* is an imitative word, formed to express the twittering noise of a bird; it is the same as Chaucer's *chiteren*. Cf. *The Milleres Tale*, 72, "As eny swalwe chiteryng on a berne" (i.e. swallow on a barn). Perhaps less contemptuous then than now; cf. Greene's *History of Alphonsus*, "and bear in mind what Amurack doth chat," i.e. speak.

88. *Than*, i.e. *then*, but the rhyme requires that we should keep the obsolete form. *Than* and *then*, originally identical, from A. S. *thænne*, were not distinguished till late in the XVIIth century (Earle, p. 508). *Then* = *than* is particularly common in Shakespeare; the use was current as late as Cowley; cf. his *Experimental Philosophy*, "Other are mixt, and are man's creatures no otherwise *then* by the result which he effects," *Essays*, p. 1.

89. *Pan*, i.e. Christ. Milton may have remembered the *Shepheards Cal. Maye*, "I muse, what account both these will make,.....When great Pan account of Shepeherdes shall aske;" where the *Glosse* explains, "*Great Pan*, is Christ, the very God of all shepheards, which calleth himselfe the greate, and good shepherd. The name is most rightly (methinkes) applyed to him; for Pan signifieth all, or omnipotent, which is onely the Lord Jesus." See also the same poem, *Julye*, pp. 466, 469 of the *Globe* ed. This manner of blending Christian and Pagan associations and story was then common.

91. See *L'Al.* 67.

92. *Silly*, i.e. harmless, a favourite word with the writers of pastoral verse. *Silly* = A. S. *sælig*, happy; cf. Germ. *selig*. In Middle E. it was commonly spelt *sely*, sometimes *seely* or *seli*, and meant 'simple,' 'humble,' 'innocent,' as often in Chaucer; e.g. in *The Milleres Tale*, 415, "this seely carpenter goth forth his way." Cf. More's account of the murder of the princes in the Tower, "thys Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight (the sely children lying in their beddes) came into the chamber," *Life of Richard III.* Pitt Press ed. p. 83. In Spenser, who writes both *seely* (*Shepheards Cal. Julye*) and *silly* (*F. Q.* III. 45. 1), the word never bears its modern sense, stupid, witless; and in Shakespeare this meaning is very rare.

93—100. See l. 27, note.

95. *Strook.* Professor Masson notes (*P. L.* II. 165) that Milton usually writes *strook* rather than *struck* both for preterite and past part. So often in the Quartos of Shakespeare. Here the rhyme requires it; but in *Com.* 301 *awe-struck* would have been equally convenient.

97. *Stringed noise*, i.e. the music of the string-instruments. This couplet (ll. 96. 97) reads like a variation on Spenser's lines:

"Whilst all the way most heavenly *noyse* was heard
Of the *strings*, stirred with the *warbling* wind,"
Ruines of Time, 613, 614.

For *noise* applied in a complimentary sense to musical sounds, cf. *The Tempest*, III. 2. 144, "the isle is full of noises, Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight." Cf. also the ode *At a Solemn Music*, where "melodious noise" (l. 18) is said of the songs of the Cherubim. A secondary meaning of *noise* was 'a company of musicians;' cf. 2 *Henry IV.* II. 4. 13. It might, as Prof. Hales thinks, be the sense in the present line. *Noise* comes from either *nausea* or *noxia*=*noxa*.

98. *Took*, i.e. charmed, captivated. *Take* was used of the malignant influence of supernatural powers; cf. Palsgrave, "*Taken*, as chyldernes lymmes be by the fayries, *faée;*" and Cotgrave, "fée, taken, bewitched." Gervase Markham in his *Treatise on Horses* (1595) says, "A horse that is bereft of his feeling, mooving, or styrring, is said to be *taken*...some farriers conster the word *taken* to be striken by some planet or evil spirit," chap. VIII. This explains *Hamlet*, I. 1. 163 ("no fairy takes"), and *Lear*, II. 4. 166 ("you taking airs"). It is the metaphor in Burns' *Cotter's Saturday Night*, 65 "he takes the mother's eye," and Tennyson's *Dying Swan*, III., "The wild swan's death-hymn took the soul Of that waste place." Cf. *Com.* 256, 558, and *P. L.* II. 554.

100. *Close*=cadence; cf. *Richard II.* II. 1. 12, "music at the close, As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last."

So in an old play, *Lingua*, I. 1.:

"For though (perchance) the first strains pleasing are,
I dare engage the close mine ears will jar."

Collins has the word in his ode *The Passions*, l. 37; see *Com.* 548 (note). Musicians also use the technical expression *half-close*.

102. *Round*, i.e. sphere. In *Venus and Adonis*, 368, "mortal round"=the sphere of the world; so in *P. L.* VII. 267.

103. *Region* signifies 'the upper air;' Shakespeare has it in this sense both as noun and adjective; cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2. 509 (with Clarendon Press note thereon), "the dreadful thunder Doth rend the region;" and *Sonnet*, 33. 12, "the region cloud." Cf. *P. R.* II. 117.

Won, i.e. persuaded; scan as a dissyllable.

106. *Its* only occurs here and *P. L.* I. 254, IV. 813. The possessive pronouns in English were formed from the genitive case of the

personal pronouns. The pronoun of the 3rd person in A. S. was declined as follows:

	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Nom.	*he*	*heo*	*hit.*
Gen.	*his*	*hire*	*his.*

His for the masc. possessive has obviously survived: *hire* for the fem. has become *her:* the neut. *his* was becoming obsolete even when Milton wrote. During an intermediate stage we find *it* used (the *h* disappearing) as the neut. possessive; cf. *Leviticus* xxv. 5, "of *it* owne accorde" (Genevan Bible, 1562). Later, to prevent confusion between the personal nominative *it* and the possessive *it*, the latter was changed to *its*. About the end of the XVIth century the new idiom came into currency; but very slowly. Spenser, for example, never writes *its;* Shakespeare in only a few passages—nine, according to Schmidt (*Lexicon*), and seven of these occur in late plays, the *Tempest* and *Winter's Tale*. For the rest he keeps to the old idiom; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, I. 2. 124, "that same eye, whose bend doth awe the world, Did lose *his* lustre." So the Bible of 1611. Cf. *Genesis* i. 12: "and the earth brought forth grass, and herb yielding seed after *his* kind;" again iii. 15: "*It* shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise *his* heel." Milton's practice varies. Sometimes he retains the ancient idiom *his*, as in *Com.* 248, 919; in the three places mentioned above he has *its;* and very often if the noun be feminine he personifies it and uses *her*.

106. *Last*, i.e. final; cf. the emphatic use of *lastly* in *Lyc.* 83:

"As he pronounces lastly on each deed,"

i.e. with the final verdict.

107—108. Alluding perhaps to the idea that "the music of the spheres" (see note on l. 125) directs aright the revolutions of the Universe. Cf. *Arc.* 68—72:

"Such sweet compulsion doth in music lie,
To lull the daughters of Necessity,
And keep unsteady nature to her law,
And the low world in measured motion draw
After the heavenly tune."

See also the last lines, 20—28, of the ode *At a Solemn Music*. The same notion, due originally to Pythagoras, seems to have been in Dryden's mind when he commenced the *Song for St Cecilia's Day:*

"From harmony, from heavenly harmony
This universal frame began;"

and Ben Jonson in the *Masque of Beauty* speaks of "the world's soul, true harmony."

110. *Globe*, i.e. a compact mass. Cf. the *Apology for Smectymnus*, "no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy," *P. W.* III. p. 147. So in *P. L.* II. 511—512, "him round A globe of fiery Seraphim enclosed."

111. *Shamefaced*=firm in shame or modesty, *shame* being the A. S. *sceamu*, modesty, while *faced* is a corruption of the A. S. *fæst*=firm or *fast*. Chaucer writes *schamefast;* cf. also Wyclif, 1 *Tim.* ii. 9, "Wymmen in covenable abite (i.e. suitable *habit* or dress) with schamefastnesse." Later the spellings *shamefast* and *shamefastness* prevailed. The only other extant word that has this suffix *-fast* is *steadfast*=firm in place (*stead*=A. S. *stede*). Earle (p. 386) mentions *soothfast*, which Wyclif uses, and *rootfast*, each obsolete.

112—113. In the Bible we find the words *Cherub* and *Cherubim* applied to, (i) the guardians of the Tree of Life, *Genesis* iii. 24; cf. *P. L.* XII. 626—628: (ii) the images overlaid with gold which were placed, with wings expanded, over the mercy-seat in the Jewish Tabernacle; cf. *P. L.* I. 386—387, XII. 253—254: (iii) the throne-chariot of the Deity conceived as formed of living beings, 2 *Samuel* xxii. 11, *Psalm* xviii. 10. They are never treated as Angels, the conception so familiar to us from works of art. That, however, is the conception which Milton, like the theologians of the Middle Ages, followed. Apparently it is first found in a work of the 4th (or 5th) century long attributed, though erroneously, to Dionysius, the Areopagite (*Acts* xvii. 34). In this treatise the heavenly beings are divided into three hierarchies, each hierarchy containing three orders or choirs, and the first hierarchy consisting of Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones. The Seraphim, therefore, come first of the nine orders, the Cherubim second; and they are angelic beings. Milton refers pointedly to this belief in *Il Pen.* 54, and *P. L.* I. 734—737. See also *The Reason of Church Government*, chap. I., *P. W.* II. p. 442.

112. *Cherubim.* The correct form of the plural, used invariably in *P. L. Cherub*=Hebrew *Kherūbh*, the plural of the latter being *Kherūbhīm*. *Cherubin*, used in the Vulgate as the singular, passed into English, and the oldest forms in our language (as still in French) are *Cherubin*, sing., and *Cherubins*, plural. Cf. *Coverdale*, "Thou God of Israel, which dwellest upon Cherubin," *Isaiah* xxxvii. 16; and *Wyclif*, "Two Goldun Cherubyns," *Exodus* xxv. 18. Later translators of the Bible, substituted *Cherub*, sing., and *Cherubims*, plural, as being closer

to the Hebrew. So throughout the Bible of 1611. Scholars like Milton went a step further and, retaining *Cherub* for sing. (cf. *P. L.* I. 157, 324), wrote the true Hebrew plural *Cherubim*, adopted in the Revised Version. See *New English Dictionary*, s.v.

113. See last note. *Seraphim* was thought to mean 'the burning ones;' cf. Milton's epithet 'flaming' in the poem *Upon the Circumcision;* cf. also the ode *At a Solemn Music*, "bright Seraphim in burning row," 10. An interesting passage in Thomas Watson's *Eglogve* alludes to the Middle Age conception of the hierarchies, and he clearly refers to the supposed sense of the title Seraphim in the lines:

"Our *Melibœus* liues where *Seraphins*
doe Praise the *Highest* in their glorious flames;"

this being a rendering of his own Latin verses,

Iam noster Melibœus agit; quà flammea latè
Collucent Seraphin.

See Arber's *Reprint*, pp. 168, 169.

The special attribute of the Seraphim was ardent love; cf. Bacon, "the Angels of loue, which are tearmed Seraphim," *Advancement of Learning*, I. 28. The word really means 'the exalted ones.'

114. *Displayed*, i.e. spread out; cf. *Il Pen.* 149. Literally *display* =un-fold, Lat. *dis-plicare*, O. F. *des-pleier*, mod. *dé-plier*. For the wings of the Cherubim, cf. *Exodus* XXV. 20; of the Seraphim, *Isaiah* VI. 2. In the pamphlet *Of Reformation*, Milton writes, "but he, when we least deserved, sent out a gentle gale and message of peace from the wings of those his Cherubim that fan his mercy-seat," *P. W.* II. 406. Cf. *P. L.* III. 381—82, XII. 253—54.

115. *Quire*. Spelt *quire* (from *chorus*) till towards the close of the XVIIth century. Cf. Cotgrave, "*Chœur;* the quire of a Church, a troop of singers;" and the *Prayer-Book*, "In quires and places where they sing." Charles Lamb uses the form *quirister*, i.e. chorister.

116. *Unexpressive*, i.e. inexpressible; cf. *Lyc.* 176, "unexpressive song," = *inenarrabile carmen* in Milton's poem *Ad Patrem*, 37. So *As You Like It*, III. 2. 10, "the chaste and unexpressive she." In the English of Shakespeare and Milton the force of participial and adjectival terminations is not rigidly fixed: thus we get *innumerous* = 'innumerable,' *Com.* 349 and *P. L.* VII. 455; *uncontrolled* = uncontrollable, *Com.* 793; *insuppressive* in *Julius Cæsar*, II. 1. 134, and *uncomprehensive*, *Troilus and Cressida*, III. 3. 198, each in a passive sense, with many other parallel cases.

119. "When the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of

God shouted for joy," *Job* xxxviii. 7. Cf. the close of *P. L.* VII. 557—634, where the suggestion given in the above-quoted verse is expanded by Milton. *Sons of Morning* is from *Isaiah* xiv. 12, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning;" the margin giving "O day star" (cf. *Lyc.* 168). See also *P. L.* v. 716.

120, 121. *Great...set.* Even when Milton wrote, this must have been an imperfect rhyme; but see *L'Al.* 101, 102.

122. *Hinges*, i.e. supports, *hinge* being cognate with *hang*, and signifying something whereon to suspend; cf. the verb in Chaucer's *Prologue*, 677. Prof. Hales aptly compares the *Faerie Q.* I. 21. 8, "To move the world from off his stedfast henge." In *P. R.* IV. 415, "from the four hinges of the world," the sense is 'quarters.'

123. *Cast*=firmly laid; the line is repeated in *P. L.* VI. 869—70:

"Strict Fate had cast too deep
Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound."

Cast=L. *jacere.* Cf. 2 *Kings* xix. 32, "he shall not come into this city...nor cast a bank against it." See *P. L.* I. 675. Cf. *positi latè fundamina Mundi* in the lines *Ad Patrem*, 47.

124. *Weltering.* See *Lyc.* 13, and cf. the epitaph on Timon of Athens in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, novel 28,

"In waltring waues of swelling sea, by surges cast."

For the form *waltring* see note on the *Lycidas* passage. As applied to a wave *welter* retains something of its literal sense, viz. to roll or toss: by a metaphor *weltered*=trouble-tossed:

"Conuey great comfort to the weltred minde,"
Thomas Watson, *An Eglogve*, p. 175 (Arber).

Ooze=soft mud, slime, whether at the bottom of water, or on the surface of land whence the water has been drained. Cf. *P. L.* VII. 302—03, where the rivers, "wandering found their way, And on the washy ooze deep channels wore;" i.e. on the land just created. See *Lyc.* 175. Pope applies the word to the river-bed of the Thames in *Windsor Forest*, 329, a reminiscence of Shakespeare (*Tempest*, v. 151). A favourite word with Keats.

Ooze=A. S. *wós*, moisture, Middle E. *wose;* for the disappearance of the *w* cf. A. S. *féower=four.* A cognate word is Old High Germ. *waso*, turf, which passed into Old French as *wason* or *gason*, whence modern F. *vase*, mud, and *gazon*, turf, respectively. Initial *g=w* is seen in not a few French words, e.g. in *garder*=O. H. G. *warten*, and *garant* from the Teutonic root, whence E. *warrant.* See l. 23, note.

125. *Sphere* is a word of very frequent occurrence in Milton. Many

passages are unintelligible unless we know what he meant by it. In Milton's time the Copernican system of astronomy was not generally approved. Milton himself did not seemingly accept it, although two passages in *P. L.* (IV. 592—597, and VIII. 15—178) show that he was quite familiar with the arguments in its favour (Masson). Certainly for the purposes of his great poem he adopts the old Ptolemaic or Alphonsine System. The astronomer Ptolemy of Alexandria held that the Earth was the fixed centre of the Mundane Universe; and that the central Earth was enclosed at different distances by eight successive Spheres of space. Seven of these Spheres were the Spheres or Orbs of the Seven Planets—in this order, if we start from the central Earth: the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Outside the last of these Spheres (i.e. Saturn) was an eighth Sphere, namely the Firmament in which were set the fixed Stars. This eighth Sphere moved from East to West, completing a revolution in twenty-four hours; it carried with it the Seven inside Spheres, though the latter were supposed to have separate motions of their own. This system was considered satisfactory up till the Middle Ages. Afterwards a ninth Sphere was added, viz. the Crystalline Sphere, outside the Firmament or Sphere of the fixed Stars. Finally the number was brought up to ten by a supplementary tenth Sphere, the Primum Mobile, enclosing all the others.

The development of the Ptolemaic system from eight to ten spheres was associated with the name of the astronomer, Alphonsus X. of Castille, 1252—1284. Hence it is sometimes called the Alphonsine System. Now, whenever writers who lived prior to the middle of the XVIIth century—Marlowe, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson and others—use the word *sphere*, they are referring not to the modern Copernican theory of the Universe, but to this obsolete Ptolemaic or Alphonsine System. It does not make much difference how many spheres they recognise: Marlowe allows nine in *Faustus*, II. 2; Ben Jonson only eight in the *Sad Shepherd*, III. 2. *Sphere*, in any case, had for these writers associations which are now lost. (Abridged from Masson.)

Ring out. Throughout the stanza runs a classical idea often alluded to in English poetry, namely, the Pythagorean notion of "the great sphere-music of stars and constellations" (Tennyson's *Parnassus*). See Plato's account of it in the Myth of Er in the tenth book of the *Republic*, 616—617, a passage which Milton adapted in *Arc.* 62—71; cf. the note on line 64 of that poem, where Plato's words are quoted at length. Plato says that on each of the spheres—and he recognises only eight—

"stands a siren, who travels round with the circle (i.e. the revolution of the Universe), uttering one note in one tone; and from all the eight notes there results a single harmony." Other classical writers, e.g. Cicero in his *Republic*, VI. 18, have adopted the belief, and illustrations without number might be given from English writers. Cf. *As You Like It*, II. 7. 6, *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 121, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, V. 11. 83—84. It is the thought developed in Milton's Ode *At a Solemn Music*. There, as here, he has done what he so often did—taken an old-world, pagan conception, and infused into it a new, Christian import.

Crystal. We may remember that (as explained *supra*) the ninth Sphere was called the *Crystalline*; cf. 1 *Hen. VI.* 1. 1. 2—3:

"Comets, importing change of times and states,
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky."

126. *Once*, i.e. for once, the harmony of the spheres being imperceptible by men. Cf. *Arc.* 72, 73, "the heavenly tune, which none can hear Of human mould with gross unpurgèd ear." So the *Merchant of Venice*, V. 60—65. In his treatise *De Spherarum Concentu* Milton says, *solus inter mortales concentum audisse fertur Pythagoras*. Here he wishes that the spheres would 'ring out,' so that all the world might hear. According to Plato, the music is inaudible because continuous.

127. *Touch.* Used in Shakespeare of 'affecting the senses;' cf. *Coriolanus*, V. 2. 11, "my name hath touch'd your ears;" so the same play, II. 1. 61, "if the drink...touch my palate adversely."

128. *Silver.* Almost a perpetual epithet of music, common in Spenser; cf. the *Shepheards Cal. April*, "Of fayre Elisa be your silver song," with the explanation in the *Glosse*, "Seemeth to imitate the like in Hesiodus ἀργύριον μέλος." In *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. 5. 130 ("then music with her silver sound") the serving-man asks "Why 'silver'?" to which one of the musicians replies that it brings them in silver.

Chime, i.e. harmony of sounds; cf. *Com.* 1021, "higher than the sphery chime." From L. *cymbalum*, through O. F. *chimbale* or *cimbale*. The *Promptorium* has "Chymme Belle. *Cimbalum*."

130. See *Il Pen.* 161; cf. Cowley's line (*Essays*, p. 125):

"And a grave base the murmuring fountains play."

131. *Ninefold.* Milton allows nine spheres, as in *Arc.* 64, "the nine infolded spheres." Cf. Sylvester (Grosart's ed. II. 3),

"Her Nine-fold Voice did choicely imitate
Th' Harmonious Musick of Heav'n's nimble dance."

132. *Consort* = 'union,' 'harmonious agreement with.' Cf. *At a*

Solemn Music, 27. So Earle's *Micro-Cosmographie*, "They (i.e. 'singing-men in Cathedrall Churches') are...distinguish't by their noyses much like Bells, for they make not a Consort but a Peale" (Arber's *Reprint*, p. 52). Milton uses *consorted*='joined with' in his *Hist. of Britain*, "and then eloquence as it were consorted in the same destiny, with the decrease and fall of virtue, corrupts also and fades," *P. W.* v. 186.

The angelic symphony. i.e. the 'unexpressive notes' of the Cherubim and Seraphim (ll. 114, 115). In modern E. *symphony* (Gk. *συμφωνία*) is applied by musicians to a special form of musical composition; in Milton's time it was merely equivalent to 'harmony.' Cf. Cotgrave, "Symphonie. Harmony, tunable singing, a consent in tune."

135. *Age of Gold*. i.e. the fabled age of Saturnus, a time of 'golden' prosperity. Cf. Ben Jonson, *Prince Henry's Barriers*, "the golden vein Of Saturn's age is here broke out again."

136. *Speckled*. Cf. Sylvester, "loathsome swarms of speckled poysons," Grosart's ed. I. 116. Probably the sense is 'garish,' 'flaunting;' or the word may mean 'tainted,' 'plague-spotted.' In the latter case cf. *spotted*='wicked' in *Midsummer N. D.* I. 1. 110, "this spotted and inconstant man," and *Richard II.* III. 2. 134, "their spotted souls." In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, V. 1. 134, *maculate* (imitated, possibly, from Horace's *maculosum nefas*, *Odes* IV. 4. 23) has the same force.

138. *Leprous*=F. *lépreux*, Lat. *leprosus*. In early writers a person afflicted with leprosy was called 'a leprous man,' the word *leper*, Gk. λέπρα, being confined to the disease itself. The traveller Hentzner, who visited England in Elizabeth's reign, noted that the English suffered greatly from leprosy, and the number of hospitals or 'lazar houses' to which sufferers were sent was large. For Milton's readers therefore the epithet would be vivid.

Mould (from Lat. *modulus*, through O. F. *modle*=modern F. *moule*) seems in Milton to signify 'material.' Cf. *Arc.* 73, "none...of human mould;" and "ethereal mould" in *P. L.* II. 139, and VII. 356. The metaphor is that of casting metals.

140. Professor Hales compares *Iliad*, V. 61, *Aeneid*, VIII. 245. See also the poem *Naturam Non Pati*, 29—32.

Peering. The verb is used by Shakespeare of the day breaking; cf. *Romeo*, I. 1. 126, "before the worshipped sun peer'd forth." Cotgrave has, "*Poindre*...to peepe, or peer out (as a morning Sunne over the top of a hill)."

141—3. Referring to the story of Astræa, who left the world (*ad*

superos Astræa recessit, *Juvenal*, VI. 19) when the golden age ceased. Cf. Milton's fourth *Elegy*, 81, 82, and the *Death of a Fair Infant*, 50, 51. The *Golden Age Restored* was the title of one of Jonson's Masques (1615), and in answer to the poet's invocation Astræa descends to the earth and announces her intention of remaining:

"What change is here? I had not more
Desire to leave the earth before
Than I have now to stay."

There is a fine passage in *Eikonoklastes*, chap. XXVIII., in which Milton argues that "either truth and justice are all one (for truth is but justice in our knowledge, and justice is but truth in our practice), or else, if there be any odds, that justice though not stronger than truth, yet by her office, is to put forth and exhibit more strength in the affairs of mankind. For truth is properly no more than contemplation; and her utmost efficiency is but teaching: but justice in her very essence is all strength and activity," *P. W.* I. 484.

143—144. The ed. of 1645 reads:

"Th' enameld *Arras* of the Rainbow wearing,
And Mercy set between."

143. *Orbed.* i.e. surrounded by; not literally true because the rainbow would be a semicircle. Cf. for a similar free use of the word his *Reason of Church Government*, "our happiness may orb itself into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and...be, as it were, an invariable planet of joy and felicity," *P. W.* II. p. 442. In *P. L.* VI. 543 ("orbed shield") the description is more accurate; cf. Shakespeare's "orbed continent"=the round ball of the sun, *Tempest*, V. 278. Probably Milton was thinking of *Ezek.* i. 28, or *Rev.* x. 1, "and a rainbow was upon his head."

146. *Tissued.* i.e. massed together; cf. "plighted clouds," *Com.* 301. Collins (imitating *P. L.* IV. 348) has a somewhat similar picture:

"Beyond yon *braided* clouds that lie,
Paving the light-embroidered sky,"
Ode to Liberty.

Milton's contemporaries would think of the material called *tissu.* Minsheu (1617) describes it as "cloth of silke and siluer, or of siluer and gold woven together." From Fr. *tisser*, Lat. *texere.*

148. *Gates.* i.e. the 'everlasting' gates of *Psalm* xxiv. Cf. *P. R.* I. 281. The alliteration of the *h* expresses gradual effort; cf. *P. L.* VII. 288.

152. Cf. 1 *Hen. IV.* I. 1. 27, "nailed for our advantage on the bitter cross."

Must. i.e. is destined to. Cf. l. 156 and *Lyc.* 38, "gone, and never must return." So in *Macbeth*, v. 8. 12, "a charmed life, which must not yield To one of woman born."

155. *Ychained.* Cf. *ycleped* in *L'Al.* 12. The prefix *y-* represents the A. S. prefix *ge-*; cf. the German *ge-* in past participles and words like *gewiss* (E. *ywis*), *genug*. Originally this prefix, a form of emphasis, was used with any part of a verb, as also with substantives; we find it in Middle E. variously written *a-* (cf. *aware*), *e-* (cf. *enough*), *hi-*, *i-* and *y-*. In the form *i-* or *y-* it came to be regarded as the prefix peculiar to past participles; cf. a single line in Chaucer for both forms, "nother to ben *y-buried* nor *i-brent*" (burnt), *Knightes Tale*, 88. But long before Milton wrote people regarded the use of the prefix as an affectation. No example occurs in the Bible of 1611, and only three in Shakespeare. One of these, *yclad*, is in 1 *Hen. VI.* I. 1. 33 (a play in which Shakespeare can have had little share), while *ycleped* (some editors *ycliped*) is found in *Love's L. L.* I. 1. 242, and v. 2. 602. Armado being the speaker in the first case, and Holofernes in the second, we may safely conclude that Shakespeare meant to ridicule the idiom. Cf. the *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal. April*, "Yblent, Y is a poetical addition." In the *Epitaph on Shakespeare*, 4, *y* is prefixed to a *present* participle, *star-ypointing*.

Sleep, viz. of death: "even so them also which sleep in Jesus, God will bring with him," 1 *Thessalon.* iv. 14.

156—158. Cf. *P. L.* XI. 73—76,

> "His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps
> When God descended, and perhaps once more
> To sound at general doom."

See also *P. L.* XII. 227—230; *Exodus* xix. 16—20.

156. *Wakeful*=awakening.

160. *Agast;* short for *agasted*, the p. p. of Middle E. *agasten*, where the *a* is an intensive prefix. Cf. *gastness*=terror, *Othello*, v. 1. 106, *gasted*=frightened, *Lear*, II. 1. 57. *Ghastly*, *aghast*, *ghost*, are from the Gothic *us-gaisjan*, to terrify. According to Skeat (*Principles*, p. 322) the spelling *aghast*, though found in Scottish as early as 1425, did not become general till after 1700.

162. *Centre.* Cf. *Com.* 382, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, I. 1. 114, 115, "He that will all the treasure know o' the earth, Must know the centre too." Sometimes, e.g. in *P. L.* I. 686, *centre*=the

earth itself as being the middle point of the universe, according to the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. See line 125, note. In Shakespeare the word bears both meanings. With the present line cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2. 159.

163. *Session*. i.e. judgment; properly 'the sitting of a court of justice.' *Assess*, *assize*, *session* all come, through different channels, from *sedeo*. For the scansion of *session* as a trisyllable accented on the last syllable, cf. l. 108.

164. Cf. the close of the treatise *Of Reformation*, in which Milton looks forward to "that day, when thou, the eternal and shortly-expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world," *P. W.* II. 419. See also the treatise on *Christian Doctrine*, *P. W.* IV. 476—479, and *P. L.* III. 323 *et seq.*

Spread. Cf. *P. L.* II. 960, "his dark pavilion spread;" the idea is 'expand,' 'display.'

168—172. Cf. *Revelation* xii., where the Dragon = Satan; see in particular verses 4, "and his *tail* drew the third part of the stars of heaven;" 9, "and the great dragon was cast out, that *old* serpent;" and 17, "the dragon was *wroth* with the woman." The allusion is clearer in *P. L.* IV. 1—5. *Dragon* (= *draco* in the Vulgate, and δράκων in the Septuagint) is the translation in several places, e.g. *Ezek.* xxix. 3, and *Psalm* lxxiv. 13, of the Hebrew word *tannīn*, applied to any monster; cf. for instance *Job* vii. 12 and *Psalm* xci. 13, where the Revised Version substitutes *serpent*.

170. *Casts*, the metaphor of casting a net.

171. *Wrath*. So the ed. of 1645; most editors change to the more usual *wroth*. But that *wrath* could be used adjectivally is clear from *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 20, "Oberon is passing fell and wrath." Conversely *wroth* is a substantive in the *Merchant of V.* II. 9. 78.

172. *Swindges*. i.e. dashes about violently. *Swindge* or *swinge* is the causal verb of *swing*, from A. S. *swingan*, to shake, toss. Sylvester uses the word (both verb and noun) frequently; cf. the *Du Bartas:*

> "Then often swindging, with his sinewy train,
> Sometimes his sides, sometimes the dusty plain,"

the subject of the sentence being a lion (Grosart's ed. I. 75). Cf. too the same poem, p. 87 (vol. I.), where it is said that the air

> "corrupteth soon, except
> With sundry winds it oft be swing'd and swept."

For the noun cf. again Sylvester, "the swinge of custom, whirl-wind-like" (II. 262), where by an obvious metaphor it signifies 'prevailing

force.' Several instances occur in Joseph Beaumont's *Psyche;* see Grosart's ed. I. 91 and 202. In Shakespeare *swinge* always mean 'to whip;' e.g. in *Merry Wives,* v. 5. 197, "I would have swinged him."

Horror. The abstract turn of phrase so common in Milton; cf. "fable of Bellerus"=fabled Bellerus, *Lyc.* 160. *Horror* and *horrid*, as used by Milton, often keep the notion of bristliness or roughness implied by *horreo.* Cf. *Com.* 429, where "horrid shades" is a translation of Vergil's *clausi...horrentibus umbris, Æneid,* III. 230. Cf. also *Com.* 37.

173—227. The poet shows how the coming of Christ brought destruction on the pagan divinities of Greece and Rome (stanzas xix—xxi); as also on the idolatrous religions of the East (xxii—xxv). With the enumeration of these deities cf. the parallel but more elaborate passage in *P. L.* I. 392—521, where he says (374, 375) that they were originally the rebellious angels who shared Satan's fall.

173. Alluding to a widespread belief that the oracles of paganism ceased to prophesy after the birth of Christ. Cf. Giles Fletcher, one of Milton's favourite authors,

> "The angells carolled lowd their song of peace;
> The cursed oracles were strucken dumb,"
>
> *Christ's Victorie in Heaven,* 82;

and the *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal. Maye,* "at that time (viz. after the crucifixion of Christ)...all Oracles surceased, and enchaunted spirits, that were wont to delude the people, thenceforth held theyr peace." Cf. also Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft,* bk. VIII. chap. 3. Sir Thomas Browne discusses the belief in his *Vulgar Errors,* bk. VII. Chap xii., and in the *Religio Medici* (XXIX) accepts it ("that great and indisputable miracle, the cessation of oracles"). See his *Works* (ed. of 1835) II. 42, III. 329—332. Cf. *P. R.* I. 456—8, and the *Apology for Smectymnuus,* "their great oracle...will soon be dumb" (last paragraph), *P. W.* III. 168.

175. *Deceiving.* Compare the famous answer given by the Pythia at Delphi to Croesus. It was a mediæval belief that all oracular responses came from the Devil. Sir Thomas Browne held this view; so apparently did Milton. See *P. R.* I. 430—31.

177. *No more.* Really the Delphic Oracle was not finally suppressed till the reign of the Emperor Theodosius, who died A.D. 395.

178. *Hollow,* i.e. ghostlike, 'as if reverberated from a cavity,' (Schmidt's *Lexicon*): cf. *Twelfth Night,* III. 4. 101, "how hollow the fiend speaks." Imitated by Pope, *Eloisa,* 308.

Delphos. Not an uncommon form; cf. *P. R.* I. 458. It occurs several times in *The Winter's Tale*, but Shakespeare in Act III., scene I. of that play makes Delphi an island, so that he may (as Warburton suggested) have confused it with Delos. Cf. Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, "If you had gone to *Delphos*, *Apollo* would have made you beleeve," p. 141 (Nicholson's ed.); and Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*, Sect. XLVI, "It had been an excellent quære to have posed the Devil of Delphos."

179. *Nightly.* Here, as in *Arc.* 48 ("nightly ill") the sense is 'by night,' 'nocturnal.' In modern E. *nightly* usually='every night;' both meanings occur in Shakespeare.

Spell. Cf. the *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal. March:* "a kinde of verse or charme, that in elder tymes they used to say over every thing that they would have preserved, as the Nightspel for theeves."

180. *Pale-eyed priest.* Certainly the origin of Pope's "shrines where their vigils pale-eyed virgins keep," *Elöisa*, 21; and possibly of Keats' "pale-mouthed prophet dreaming," *Ode to Psyche.*

183. The editors remind us of *St Matthew* ii. 18, "In Rama was there a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning." Cf. *The Passion*, 50, 51, "Or, should I thence...Take up a weeping on the mountains wild."

184. Compare *L'Al.* 130, and Tennyson's *Eleänore*, "From old well-heads of haunted rills."

185. *Pale.* Cf. Horace, *Odes*, II. 3. 9, "*qua pinus ingens albaque populus.*" Spenser's epithet for the poplar is 'pallid,' *Virgil's Gnat*, 222.

186. *Genius*, i.e. the *genius loci.* Cf. *Lyc.* 183. The 'Genius of the Wood' is the chief character in *Arcades.* According to the classical belief every place, or individual, had a presiding spirit. Plato tells us something about the δαίμων of Socrates.

187. *Tress* is a favourite word with Milton; cf. *P. L.* IV. 305—307, V. 10, *Com.* 753. Derived through the French *tresse* and *tresser* from Low Lat. *trica*, 'a plait,' itself the Gr. τρίχα, 'in three parts,' there being a method of plaiting the hair thus. For the order of the words (an imitation of the Greek idiom) cf. *Lyc.* 6, "sad occasion dear," where the editors quote many other examples, e.g. *P. L.* v. 5, "temperate vapours bland."

188. i.e. the nymphs of the forests and groves, called Ἀλσηίδες; cf. *Il Pen.* 137, 138.

Twilight. An adjective, as in *Il Pen.* 133; cf. Collins, "as oft he

rises 'midst the twilight path," *Ode to Evening*. In Elizabethan English, says Dr Abbott, "almost any part of speech can be used as any other part of speech" (*Shakespearian Gram.* p. 5); cf. *maiden* l. 42.

The prefix *twi* in *twilight* is the A. S. *twí-* 'double,' and then 'doubtful;' so that *twilight* = double or doubtful light. Cognate are E. *two* and Germ. *zwei*.

191. Roughly speaking, the Lares (also called *Larvæ*) and Lemures = Manes, i.e. the spirits of the dead worshipped in Roman families as divinities, after the manner of the Greek hero-worship. The Lares (the spirits of good men) presided over the whole house; their images stood in a separate apartment called the *Lararia* = "the holy hearth" of Milton's verse. The Lemures, the souls of bad men uneasy in their "consecrated earth," i.e. graves, were supposed to wander at night and trouble the living; cf. *Julius Cæsar*, II. 2. 24. There seems to be a reminiscence of line 191 in Keats' *Ode to Psyche*,

> "So let me be thy Choir, and make a moan
> Upon the midnight hours."

Cf. l. 180, note.

192. *Urns*. Perhaps in the sense 'tombs.' See *Lyc.* 20.

194. *Flamens*. Spelt *Flamins* in the eds. of 1645 and 1673; cf. the folio reading in *Coriolanus*, II. 1. 229.

When Milton would be very bitter against the ceremonies of the English Church he sneers at episcopal "palls and mitres, gold, and gewgaws fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe, or the flamins vestry," *Of Reformation in England*, *P. W.* II. 365. Cf. also *The Reason of Church Government*, "how have they (i.e. the prelates) disfigured...the unclouded serenity of Christian religion, with the dark overcasting of superstitious copes and flaminical vestures," *P. W.* II. p. 485.

Quaint. Perhaps 'precise,' 'ceremonious.' Derived from *cognitus* (cf. *acquaint* from *adcognitare*), through O. F. *cointe*, it first meant 'skilful,' 'knowing;' cf. Hampole's *Psalter*, *Psalm* cxix. 98, "Abouen myn enmys quaynt *th*ou me made," where the A. V. has *wiser;* similarly in the same work *quayntis* = *prudentia* i.e. cunning, "quayntis of *the* deuel" (Bramley's ed. p. 425 and p. 9). Later came the notion 'neat,' 'done with care;' whence the general idea 'fine,' 'pretty.' Cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, III. 2. 149: "A gown more quaint, more pleasing," and *Much Ado*, III. 4. 22. So "impresses quaint" in *P. L.* IX. 35. Finally, *quaint* narrowed down to the meaning 'eccentric,' 'odd,' which is not found in Shakespeare. French writers supposed *cointe* to be derived from L. *comptus*, the p. p. of *comere*, to adorn; cf.

Du Cange s.v. *Cointises:* "*Galli* Coints *dicebant cultos, ornatos, elegantes* Comptos, *unde vocis origo. Hinc* contoier *pro* ornare." Doubtless the incorrect use of the French word affected its English derivative.

195. The editors refer to Vergil, *G.* I. 480.

196. *Forgoes*, i.e. abandons. The *for* is an intensive prefix = German *ver;* cf. *forlorn, forget, forsake. Forego* = precede is, of course, a separate word, *fore* being the A. S. preposition *fore* = before, Germ. *vor.*

197. *Baal = Baal-Peor* (cf. *Numbers* xxv. 18, xxxi. 16), one of the titles under which Baal, God of the Sun, the chief male deity of the Phœnician and Canaanitish nations, was worshipped. In his treatise *Of Reformation* Milton uses the full name, "to draw them (i.e. the Israelites) from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-Peor," *P. W.* II. p. 402. Other titles were Baal-Berith and Baal-zebub; cf. *S. A.* 1231, *P. L.* I. 421.

199. i.e. Dagon, the god of the Philistines. Cf. *P. L.* 457—466, where (as here, cf. 'twice-battered') Milton is referring to 2 *Samuel* v. 3, 4. See *S. A. passim.*

200. *Ashtaroth*, i.e. the supreme female divinity of the Phœnicians to whom Solomon built a temple, 2 *Kings* xxxiii. 13. See *P. L.* I. 443, and *P. R.* III. 417. She was identical with the Syrian Astarte and the Greek Aphrodite, the worship of the latter having been introduced by Phœnician traders to the islands of the Ægean, whence it spread all over Greece (*Classical Dict.*). Milton calls her the "Assyrian Queen" in *Com.* 1002; correctly, since she was the same deity as the Assyrian Istar who married the sun-god Thammuz (see l. 204) and each year descended to the nether world to bring him back to earth. In the religion of the Phœnicians the goddess was symbolised by either the planet Venus or the Moon; in the latter case she was represented in works of art as "horned like the crescent moon;" hence Milton's epithet *moonèd.* See *P. L.* I. 438—443. The name shows that she was an astral deity, since *Ashtaroth* is cognate with Sanskrit *tara* or *stara*, L. *stella*, E. *star. Ashtoreth* is the singular, *Ashtaroth* being the plural, collective title for the different manifestations of the goddess. See Chambers' *Encyclopædia.*

Moonèd, i.e. represented as the Moon. In *P. L.* IV. 978 *moonèd* = crescent-shaped; cf. Sylvester, Sonnet XXXVIII., "the Mahomite His moonèd Standards hath already pight;" see Grosart's ed. I. 31, II. 42.

201. Milton has transferred to her the title *mater deûm* which

belonged to Cybele (see *Arc.* 22), and that of *regina cœli*, assigned to Juno.

202. *Shine.* Once not uncommon as noun; cf. Sylvester, "Illustred with Light's radiant shine," Grosart's ed. i. 23. So Spenser, *F. Q.* I. 10. 57, and Keats, *Endymion*, III., "never was a day of summer shine."

203. *Libyc Hammon*, or Ammon; worshipped especially at Thebes in Upper Egypt. He was "represented as a ram with downward branching horns, the symbols of power" (Chambers' *Encyclopædia*); flocks were supposed to be under his protection. The name *Ammon* signifies "the hidden, unrevealed deity," and in later times he became the god of oracles, and was worshipped as such in Ethiopia and the Libyan desert (hence Milton's epithet *Libyc*). The chief shrine of the oracle was twelve days' journey west of Memphis, whither came pilgrims, e.g. Alexander the Great and Cato of Utica. The Greeks identified him with Zeus, the Romans with Jupiter. Cf. *P. L.* IV. 277, "Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Libyan Jove," and *P. L.* IX. 508.

Shrinks. Transitive as in *Lyc.* 133, "the dread voice is past, that shrunk thy streams." So *The Two Kinsmen*, I. 1. 83, "this thy lord ...shrunk thee into the bound thou wast o'erflowing."

204. Cf. *Ezek.* viii. 14, "behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz;" and the long passage in *P. L.* I. 446, where Masson remarks: "The legend was that he (i.e. Thammuz = the Adonis of Greek mythology) was killed by a wild boar in Lebanon; and the phenomenon of the reddening at a particular season every year of the waters of the Adonis, a stream which flows from Lebanon to the sea near Byblos, was mythologically accounted for by supposing that the blood of Thammuz was then flowing afresh. There were annual festivals at Byblos in Phœnicia in honour of Thammuz, held every year at the season referred to. Women were the chief performers at these festivals—the first part of which consisted in lamentations for the death of Thammuz, and the rest in rejoicings over his revival." Other allusions in Milton to the same legend (which symbolises the annual return of spring) are *P. L.* IX. 440, where he mentions the fabulous gardens of "revived Adonis" (see note on *Com.* 998, 999), *Eikonoklastes* "let them who now mourn for him (i.e. Charles I.) as for Thammuz... remember" (*P. W.* I. p. 330), and the Latin poem *Mansus*, 10—11.

Tyrian = Phœnician; cf. *Com.* 341, "Tyrian Cynosure."

Wounded. Cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 1052. 53, "the wide wound that the boar had trench'd."

205. *Moloch.* "The abomination of the children of Ammon,"

1 *Kings* xi. 7; worshipped at their capital Rabbah, "the city of waters," 2 *Sam.* xii. 27, with human sacrifices, *Psalm* cvi. 37, 38, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 10. The name (better written Molech) means 'king;' cf. *Amos* v. 26, where the margin rightly renders "your king." With the description of his rites, 206—210, cf. *P. L.* i. 392—396. Cowley in his attack on Cromwell says, "To usurp three kingdoms without any shadow of the least pretensions, and to govern them as unjustly as he got them! To set himself up as an idol (which we know, as St Paul says, in itself is nothing), and make the very streets of London like the valley of Hinnom, by burning the bowels of men as a sacrifice to his Molochship!" *Essays*, Pitt Press ed. p. 29.

207. *Burning idol.* Warton first pointed out that in this stanza, as in *P. L.* i. 392 *et seq.*, Milton very probably used Sandys' *Travels.* Sandys gives, no doubt, the picture handed down by Jewish tradition of the "Idoll of brasse, hauing the head of a Calfe, the rest of a kingly figure, with armes, extẽded to receive the miserable sacrifice, seared to death with his burning embracements. For the Idol was hollow within, filled with fire. And least their lamentable shreeks should sad the hearts of their parents, the Priests of Molech did deafe their eares with the continual clang of trumpets and timbrels," p, 186, ed. 1632. Milton refers to Sandys in the tract *Of Reformation*, *P. W.* ii. 380.

208. *Cymbal.* See note on *chime*, l. 128.

209. *They* i.e. his priests and worshippers.

Grisly. Middle E. *grislich*, horrible; cognate with Germ. *gräslich*, *grausig.* Sometimes confused with *grizzly* = greyish, from F. *gris.* Cf. *Hamlet*, i. 2. 240, where the folios have *grisly*, while most modern editors print *grizzled* after the quartos. The adjectival suffixes *like* and *ly*, e.g. in *saint-like* and *saintly*, are identical, *like* being the earlier in use, from A. S. *líc.*

211. *Brutish.* Cf. the reference in *P. L.* i. 480—482, to "fanatick Egypt" and her "wandering gods disguised in brutish forms." The epithet is accurate because the religion of the Egyptians consisted in a pantheistic worship of nature that mainly took for its symbols living animals. Cf. the next line ("*dog* Anubis"), and the description of Osiris, stanza xxiv. At Rome the rites of some of these *monstra deûm* (*Æneid*, viii. 698) became so popular that Juvenal could safely ask

quis nescit qualia demens | Ægyptus portenta colat?—*Sat.* xv. 1, 2.

See Mayor's notes on this and other passages of Juvenal referred to on p. 61.

212. *Isis*, 'the goddess of the earth.' Herodotus says, "the statue

of this goddess has the form of a woman but with horns like a cow, resembling thus the Greek representations of Io," Rawlinson, II. 73. Io and Isis were identified. Cf. *P. L.* I. 476, and the Latin poem *In Quintum Novembris*, 185, 186. Evidently Milton was well versed in Egyptian mythology; see the *Areopagitica*, *P. W.* II. 89, *Animadversions*, *P. W.* III. 89.

Orus; or Horus, the Egyptian Sun-god; the name means "path of the sun;" cf. Milton's first *Defence*, *P. W.* I. 119.

Anubis was the son of Osiris. Like Hermes (with whom he was identified by the Greeks; cf. Milton's poem *De Idea Platonica*, 31—34) he acted as *psychopompus*, conducting souls to the lower-world and weighing their actions before Osiris. On monuments he was represented with a jackal's head, which the Greeks changed to that of a dog. Hence Vergil's *latrator Anubis*, *Æneid*, VIII. 698, and Juvenal's *oppida tota canem venerantur*, *Sat.* XV. 8; cf. also *Sat.* VI. 534. Prof. Hales reminds us of Socrates' oath, *μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν*, *Plat. Gorg.* p. 482, B. Sir Thomas Browne speaks of the Egyptians "As the great admirers of dogs in earth and heaven; wherein they worshipped Anubis...the scribe of Saturn, and counsellor of Osyris, the great inventor of their religious rites, and promoter of good into Egypt," *Vulgar Errors*, book IV. chap. XIII.

213—220. Osiris = Apis; Osiris was the chief Egyptian god, Apis, the Sacred Bull, being the symbol under which they worshipped him. Obviously it is to Apis that these lines apply. The Apis was not allowed to live more than 25 years; then he was put to death by the priests, and buried in a sacred well, the people believing that he had cast himself into the water. If he died naturally he was buried in the temple of Serapis at Memphis. For a description of this burial-place (discovered not long since) see Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, II. 431. When a successor to the Apis (which had to be of a certain colour and marked in a certain way) was found, great popular rejoicings were held; cf. Juvenal's,

populus quod clamat Osiri
Invento, VIII. 29.

See *Herodotus*, III. 27—29, where there is an account how Cambyses killed the Apis, and Pliny, *H. N.* VIII. 46. The worship by the Israelites in the wilderness of the golden calf was due to this Egyptian cult. In *Eikonoklastes* Milton ridicules his opponents for being annoyed that he "should dare to tell abroad the secrets of their Egyptian Apis" (i.e. Charles I.) *P. W.* I. 328. See also *P. L.* I. 478.

215. *Unshowered*, because of the lack of rain in Egypt. Cf. *Edward Webbe his trauailes* (1590) "In Egipt there is small store of water, because it neuer raineth in that Country, so that their water is very dangerous to drinke. They have no springs at all in that country," p. 33, Arber's *Reprint*; see also p. 22.

217. *Sacred chest*. i.e. the "worshipped ark;" cf. 220.

218. *Shroud*. i.e. shelter; cf. *Com*. 147. A. S. *scrúd*='garment,' and in this sense *shroud* soon became limited to 'funeral garment,' i.e. winding-sheet. But it also developed a secondary meaning 'shelter;' cf. *Antony and Cleopatra*, III. 3. 71 "put yourself under his shroud." Another very common meaning was 'the shelter of the branches of a tree;' cf. *Ezek*. xxxi. 8, "a cedar in Lebanon with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature."

219. *Anthems*. See *Il Pen*. 163, note.

220. *Sable-stolèd*. i.e. robed in black; cf. *Il Pen*. 35, and Tennyson's *Morte D'Arthur*, "the decks were dense with stately forms black-stoled." So "sable-vested" in *P. L*. II. 962. *Stole*, L. *stola* (worn by Roman ladies), Gk. στολή, signified a long, flowing robe. Cf. Florio (1598), "Stóla, a stole, a roabe, garment or religious habit, such as religious men and doctors weare...a roabe of honour and dignity;" also Cotgrave, "Stole. A stole; a long robe, gown, or garment, reaching to the ankles or heeles." In modern E. the word is limited to mean the long band of silk, fringed at the end, which is worn round the neck by many clergymen. Formerly, however, as Florio's definition shows, *stole* denoted any religious vestment; cf. Giles Fletcher, "prophets brightly-stoled in shining laune," *Christ's Victorie on Earth*, 7. *Stole* could also be applied to the dress of women. Cf. for example, Herrick's *To the King*, "In her white Stole, now Victory does rest." So in *A Lover's Complaint*, 297.

221. Cf. *St Matthew* ii. 6.

223. *Eyn*. The old form of the plural, where *n*=the O. E. termination *an*, cf. *oxen;* cf. *As You Like It*, IV. 3. 50—51:

> "If the scorn of your bright eyne
> Have power to raise such love in mine;"

and *Midsummer N. D*. III. 2. 137—138. When Shakespeare uses *eyn* or *eyne* it is almost always for the sake of the rhyme. So Spenser, *F. Q*. I. 4. 21 where the rhyme *fyne...pyne* runs through the stave.

224. i.e. nor all the *other* gods; *beside* is an adverb, as in *Il Pen*. 116, "And if aught else great bards beside."

226. *Typhon*. Cf. *P. L*. I. 199, and II. 539 ("vast Typhœan

rage"). Typhon, or Typhœus, is commonly represented as a hundred-headed monster, who, trying to seize supreme sovereignty, was killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt. Later writers connect him with Egypt, and Milton perhaps followed this view, since he has just been mentioning the chief Egyptian deities. He may have borrowed something (as in stanza xxiii.) from Sandys' *Travels*, p. 103 (1632 ed.). Cf. Spenser, *F. Q.* VII. 6. 29; Bacon in his *Wisdom of the Ancients* rationalises the fable, making Typhon the Genius of Rebellion in States.

Typhon = Gk. τυφῶν or τυφώς, a whirlwind. *Typhoon*, better spelt *tyfoon*, is an entirely separate word, of Chinese origin, the spelling of which has been influenced by the other.

Snaky twine. Cf. "Gordian twine" (of the serpent) *P. L.* IV. 348.

228. *Swaddling bands.* To *swaddle* is to *swathe; swaddling-band* = *swatheling-bonde* in Middle E. From A. S. *swe*ð*ian*, to enwrap; Coverdale (1535) has "nether rubbed with salt ner swedled in cloutes," *Ezek.* xvi. 4. See the A. V. *St Luke*, ii. 7, and cf. Joseph Beaumont's *Psyche* (Grosart's ed., 134):

> "You shall at *Bethlehem* find this most divine
> Infant inwrap'd in simple swadling clouts."

229—231. The metaphor here (*curtained, pillows*) belongs to the type of somewhat fantastic, far-fetched imagery in which the poets of the 'Metaphysical' school delighted. With the addition of a few strokes the picture would have become ridiculous: Crashaw or Donne might have added them.

231. *Orient.* In a note on *Midsummer N. D.* IV. 59, Mr Aldis Wright pointed out that *orient* was first applied to gems, especially pearls that came from the Orient or East. The phrase "orient pearl" occurred so frequently in Elizabethan poetry (cf. *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, I. 5. 41, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 132), that Bullokar explained it in his *Expositor*, "Orient Pearles, Glistering Pearles of great price." Afterwards *orient* was used of anything brilliant. Cf. *P. L.* I. 545—6, "Ten thousand banners rise into the air, With orient colours waving." Cf. *Com.* 65, where, as here, it is used of a liquid.

232—234. Referring to the superstition that evil spirits may not 'walk' after sunrise; cf. *Hamlet*, I. 5. 89—91, and *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 381—384, a passage from which Milton borrowed in his *Death of a Fair Infant*, 31.

234. *Fettered.* Cf. *Com.* 434—35, "unlaid ghost, That breaks his magic chains at curfew time."

Several. i.e. separate or respective; cf. *Com.* 25, "commits to

several government." In modern E. *several* is usually an indefinite pronoun (='a few') joined with a plural noun; in Elizabethan E. it was commonly an adjective, as here. Cf. Bacon's *Hist. of Hen. VII.* 'as if the king's soul and his money were in several offices," p. 209. So the A. V. in many places, e.g. 2 *Kings* xv. 5. From O. F. *several*, Low Lat. *separabile*='a thing apart;' *several* and *separate* are 'doublets.'

235. Strictly *fay*=an elf; *fairy*=enchantment; but *fairy* has displaced *fay* and taken its meaning. *Fay* is from O. F. *fae*=modern *fée;* cf. Portuguese *fada*, Ital. *fata*. Each comes from Late Lat. *fata* =*Parca*, "goddess of destiny."

236. i.e. "the drowsy-flighted steeds" (*Com.* 553) who draw the chariot of the night. Cf. the lines *In Quintum Novembris*, 69, 73, where (constructing his own mythology) Milton tells us the names of the horses. See *Il Pen.* 59, note.

Mazes, i.e. labyrinths, a reminiscence probably of Shakespeare's "quaint mazes in the wanton green," *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 99. Evidently Milton knew that scene by heart; cf. ll. 6, 7 with *Com.* 1013—1017; l. 25 with *Com.* 423; l. 29 partly with *P. L.* I. 783, partly with *Com.* 1003; ll. 34—37 with *L'Al.* 105—108; l. 39 with *P. L.* IX. 640; l. 69 with *Com.* 139; l. 126 with *Com.* 117 (*Cambridge MS.* reading); and l. 129 with *Lyc.* 137. *Moon-loved*; cf. *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 141.

240. *Youngest-teemed*, i.e. latest-born. *Teem* is used causally,= to bring forth, in *P. L.* VII. 454; cf. *Macbeth*, IV. 3. 176, "*Mal.* What is the newest grief? *Rosse.* Each minute teems a new one."

242. Cf. *St Matthew* xxv. 1—13 (the parable of the Ten Virgins); and see the ninth sonnet, *To A Virtuous Young Lady*.

244. *Bright-harnessed.* i.e. clad in bright armour. For *harness*= armour cf. Cotgrave "Harnois. Armour, harnesse." Ascham mentions "the harnesse of *Achilles*, with the harnesse of *Æneas*, and the maner of making of them," *Scholemaster*, p. 190. So Shakespeare in *Troilus*, v. 3. 31, *Macbeth*, v. 5. 52, and *King John*, v. 2. 132 (*harnessed*). The word has been revived by Tennyson, "Dry clashed his harness in the icy caves," *Morte D'Arthur;* "Far liefer had I gird his harness on him," *Geraint and Enid.* O. F. *harneis* is Celtic. Cf. Breton *harnez* =iron, iron-implements.

L'ALLEGRO.

The Title. Florio's *Dict.* (1598) has: "Allegro, ioyfull, merie, iocond, sportfull, pleasant, frolike." Ital. *allegro* = Lat. *alacrem*, accus. of *alacer*; cf. O. F. *alègre*, mod. *allègre*. The word is perhaps best known to us from its use in music.

1—2. Milton's mythology, like his landscapes, is eclectic. He picks out from classical mythology just what suits his purpose and treats it in his own way. The ancients knew no goddess of Melancholy, so he invents one: she must have some parentage, and he makes her the offspring of Cerberus and Night. Similarly Spenser makes the 'Blattant Beast' the issue of Cerberus and "fell Chimæra," *F. Q.* VI. 1. 8. Strictly the husband of Night was not Cerberus but Erebus; cf. the *F. Q.* III. 4. 54:

> "Night! thou foule Mother of annoyance sad,
> . . . . . .
> Black Herebus, thy husband, is the foe
> Of all the Gods."

So *F. Q.* II. 4. 41, and the *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal. November.* Dyce in his note on Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, IV. 2 ("you bastards of the Night and Erebus") suggested *Erebus* in the present verse.

3. "In some such cave as Cerberus' own, which, according to Vergil, faced the landing-place of spirits on the further bank of the Styx" (Hales). See *Æneid* VI. 418. Cf. the description of the Cave of Murder and Treason in Milton's poem *In Quintum Novembris*, 139—154; or Longfellow's address to Sleep in the *Masque of Pandora:*

> "Come from thy caverns dark and deep,
> O Son of Erebus and Night."

Stygian. Cf. "Stygian darkness" = darkness as of the nether world, *Com.* 132. Styx, one of the four rivers of Hades, "the flood of deadly hate" (*P. L.* II. 577), is a synonym of hell. From στυγεῖν, to hate.

5. *Uncouth*, gloomy, 'filling the soul with dismal apprehensions' (Schmidt, *Lexicon*); cf. "if this uncouth forest yield anything," *As You Like It*, II. 6. 6; see *Lyc.* 186.

cell; not one such as in *Il Pen.* 169.

6. Cf. *P. L.* I. 20—21:

> "With mighty wings outspread
> Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss;"

and VII. 235.

We have the same imagery of night, or darkness, represented as a dusky bird whose outstretched wings cover the earth, more than once in Milton; cf. *P. R.* I. 501, 502, *Com.* 251, 252.

Brooding=overshadowing, with something of its metaphorical sense *sullen*; cf. "*jealous* wings," as though by its attitude darkness forbade the approach of light. The original notion of *brood* was 'heat'; the *New E. D.* compares Middle High G. *bruot*=warmth, and then, something hatched by warmth; cf. G. *brühen*.

7. Cf. *Much Ado*, II. 3. 84, "I had as lief have heard the night-raven." Coles' *Dict.* has "lich fowles (*lich*=dead body).....scritch-owls, night-ravens;" and Sherwood, "the night-raven, *Corbeau du nuict.*" Probably it was the same as the *night-crow* mentioned in 3 *Hen. VI.* v. 6. 45. There has been much discussion amongst Shakespearian editors as to what bird is intended. Neither the raven nor any species of crow is a night-bird. Accordingly the owl, the bittern (cf. Goldsmith's "hollow sounding bittern," *Deserted Village*, 44), once common in England, though now nearly extinct, the night-jar and the night-heron have all been suggested. Probably, however, the raven was meant; its croak has always been regarded as an evil omen (cf. the *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal. June*). Thus it was supposed to fly round houses infected, or about to be, with the plague; cf. *Othello*, IV. 1. 20—22. The poets may have thought that the bird ought, from the fitness of things, to fly abroad at night, and Milton did not stay to enquire whether they were correct. Cf. the sonnet *To the Nightingale*, 9, 10.

8. *Ebon*, i.e. black; "death's ebon dart," *Venus and Adonis*, 948. The form used by Spenser is closer to the etymology *ebenus*, ἔβενος; cf. *F. Q.* II. 7. 52, "Trees of bitter Gall, and Heben sad." Cf. *Com.* 134. *Low-browed*, =close overhanging.

9. *Ragged*, i.e. rugged; cf. *Richard II.* v. 5. 21, "my ragged prison walls;" where Mr Aldis Wright quotes *Isaiah* ii. 21: "To go into the clefts of the rocks, and into the tops of the ragged rocks." Metaphorically *ragged*=rough, uneven; cf. *As You Like It*, II. 5. 15, "my voice is ragged." Swedish *rugg*=rough hair.

10. *Cimmerian.* "The mythical Cimmerii, mentioned by Homer, (see *Odyssey*, XI. 14) dwelt in the furthest W. on the ocean, enveloped in constant mists and darkness," *Classical Dict. Cimmerian* therefore meant 'gloomy.' Cf. Sylvester, I. p. 22, "black horror of Cimmerian Mists;" and Spenser, *Virgil's Gnat.* Cotgrave has "*Cimmerique. Tenebres Cimmeriques.* Cimmerian (viz. perpetuall, or continuall) darknesse." So perhaps in *Titus Andronicus*, II. 3. 72.

11—40. The whole of this passage (except verses 17—24) is quoted by Addison in his essay on "Laughter and Ridicule; Difference between Comedy and Burlesque," *Spectator* 249. "Milton," he says, "in a joyous assembly of imaginary persons, has given us a very poetical figure of laughter. His whole band of mirth is so finely described that I shall set down the passage at length;" and then follow the lines. It is to Addison that we owe one of the earliest detailed criticisms of *Paradise Lost*.

Again, when *Comus* was adapted for the stage in the last century, the re-arrangement into scenes and acts being made by the Rev. John Dalton of New College, Oxford, while Dr Arne supplied the musical setting, the first twenty-six lines of *L'Allegro* were transferred to the operatic version of the *Masque*. They served as the opening of the third act, and at l. 11 the invocation to Mirth was followed by the actual appearance on the scene of the goddess who from that point onward took part in the performance. (See the Pitt Press ed. of *Comus* pp. xliii. xliv.)

11. *Fair and free;* i.e. graceful. A favourite combination with the XVIIth cent. poets. Cf. Drayton's *Heroical Epistles:*

"Find me out one so young, so fair, so free."

12. *Ycleped.* 'Called;' cf. *Love's L. L.* I. 1. 242, and **V. 2.** 602. *Clepen*, or *clepe*, is very common in Chaucer and early writers. Cf. the *Promptorium*, "Clepyn' be name, *Nuncupor*, *nuncupo*. Clepyn' yn to a place, *Invoco*." Way quotes (p. 81) from Palsgrave, "I clepe or call, *je huysche*. This term is farre Northern." Shakespeare uses it only three or four times; cf. *Hamlet*, I. 4. 19, "they clepe us drunkards." Sometimes spelt *clip*: hence the quibble in *Love's L. L.* V. 2. 603 (*ycliped* and *clipt* = shortened); cf. also the folio reading in *Macbeth* III. 1. 94, where the Clarendon Press editors say that "the word is still used by children at play in the Eastern counties: they speak of 'cleping sides,' i.e. calling sides, at prisoners' base." Derived from A. S. *cleopian*. For the prefix *y* see *Nat. Ode*, 155.

12—16. According to the editors, the only authority for this parentage of the Graces is a note by Servius on *Æneid* I. 720. Usually they are represented as the offspring of Zeus, though which of the goddesses was their mother was not quite certain. Spenser, *F. Q.* vi. 10. 22, says Eurynome, daughter of Oceanus:

"They are the daughters of sky-ruling Jove,
By him begot of faire Eurynome."

The Graces were familiar characters on the Jacobean Masque-stage,

acting (as in the classics) as attendants on Venus, whence possibly the notion that she was their mother. Cf. Ben Jonson's *Hue and Cry after Cupid*, and the description of Euphrosyne in *King James' Entertainment*.

14. *At a birth*, i.e. at *one* birth. "*A* is a shortened form of *an*, first used about A.D. 1200" (Skeat); *an* is identical with *one*. Cf. for this very phrase *Othello*, II. 3. 212, "Though he had twinn'd with me, both *at a birth*." So *Hamlet*, V. 2. 276, "these foils have all *a* length?" i.e. the same.

16. This makes Euphrosyne the half-sister of Comus who was the son of Bacchus and Circe; Euphrosyne = Pleasure on its innocent side: Comus = Pleasure in its sensual aspect. See *Com.* p. 84.

Ivy-crowned. Cf. the description in *Com.* 54, 55, of Bacchus and

"his clustering locks,
With ivy berries wreathed."

It was probably the traditional association of ivy with the wine-god that led to the custom of affixing an ivy-bush at the doors of taverns: whence again the proverb "good wine needs no bush," which is traceable at least as far back as Shakespeare (*As You Like it, Epilogue*, 4. 6).

17—24. Euphrosyne may be the offspring of the West Wind and the Dawn: in simpler language, "it is the early freshness of the summer morning that best produces cheerfulness" (Masson). Perhaps Milton followed Ben Jonson who in *The Penates* makes Aurora the companion of Favonius or Zephyr. Cf. Herrick's poem "The Apron of Flowers," Grosart's ed. II. 249. Or the parentage may be Milton's own invention, though he attributes it to "some sager." In either case we may remember that mythology relates the loves of the winds and nymphs, e.g. of Boreas and Orithyia (Ovid. *Met.* VI. 677).

18. *Breathes = spirat;* cf. the poem *Naturam Non Pati Senium*, 55, *trux Aquilo spiratque hiemem nimbosque volutat.* Imitated in Gray's ode on *Eton College.*

20. Alluding to the May-day observances, so often mentioned by English writers. A stage-direction in *The Two Kinsmen*, act III. runs: "Noise and hallooing, as of People a-Maying;" and Herrick in the *Hesperides* has a piece entitled "*Corinna's going a-Maying*" (Grosart I. 116). Compare Milton's own *Song on May Morning*, in which he refers to the practice of saluting the day with an 'early song,' the custom that still obtains at Magdalen College, Oxford. Moralists like Stubbes condemned the May-games; see the *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 149 (Furnivall's ed.) or Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, I. 212 (Bohn's ed.).

A-Maying. Ben Jonson in his *Grammar* says, "*a* hath also the

force of governing before a noun." In fact, *a=an*, and *an* was a dialectical form of the preposition *on*. *Maying* is a verbal noun, the termination *-ing* being the same as the O. E. noun ending *-ung*. The use of the verbal noun in *-ing* after the prepositions, *on*, *an*, *a* or *in*, was especially common after verbs of motion; e.g. "he went on hunting," "he fell on sleeping." When the preposition was omitted the verbal noun in *-ing* came to be regarded as a present participle. Morris, *Outlines*, 177—179; also Abbott, *Shakesp. Gram.* 94.

22. Cf. *The Taming of the Shrew*, II. 1. 174, "As morning roses newly wash'd with dew;" where the old play *The Taming of A Shrew* has, l. 1023, "As glorious as the morning wash't with dew." Cf. the obvious imitation in Tennyson's *Dream of Fair Women*, 14:

"fresh-wash'd in coolest dew
The maiden splendours of the morning star
Shook in the stedfast blue."

24. Thomas Randolph had already written in *Aristippus:*

"A bowl of wine is wondrous good cheer,
To make one blithe, buxom and debonair."

Cf. the prologue in *Pericles*, I. 1. 23, "so buxome, blithe and full of face." Randolph is almost certainly the "late R" mentioned in Sir Henry Wotton's letter to Milton; see *Comus*, p. 10 and pp. 70, 71. Randolph was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and must have been contemporary with Milton at the University. It is quite possible that they had met, though there could not have been much in common between the brilliant 'son' of Ben Jonson and the student of Christ's College.

Buxom, lively, brisk. Derived from A. S. *bȳgan*, to bend, (cf. Germ. *beugsam*); it originally meant 'pliable,' 'yielding,' i.e. submissive, obedient. Cf. Hampole's *Psalter*, "be boxsu*m*, suffrand and dyand," p. 10; and p. 436, "bifor all *other* thyng*e* to be buxsum til *the*" (Bramley's ed.). It is used literally of that which gives way in *P. L.* II. 842, "wing silently the buxum air," i.e. the air that yields before them; a translation of Horace's *cedentem aera*, *Sat.* II. 2, 13, previously imitated by Milton in the poem *In Quintum Novembris*, 208, "*cedentes remigat auras.*" Cf. also *P. L.* V. 270. Afterwards the meaning entirely changed, so that *buxom* became a vague term of compliment. Thus Cotgrave gives it (with *blithe*) among the synonyms for *joyeux*, and Sherwood translates it by *gai*, *gaillard*.

Debonair, i.e. *de bon air*=good-looking; but *debonaire* was used rather of character than appearance. Cf. Cotgrave, "Debonnaire,

courteous, affable, gentle, mild; of a sweet, a friendly, conversation." See Hampole's *Psalter*, p. 118, "debone*re* men *that* has temper*aun*ce in all thyng*e*;" also p. 276, "als a shepe, *that* is innocentis meke and debon*er*." So Sylvester, II. p. 349:

"Thou of thy goodnesse debonaire
Didst freely it againe repaire."

Sometimes variously shortened to *bonaire*, *bonere* and *bonayre*.

25. As an example of the extraordinary influence exercised by Milton's style upon the poets of the latter half of the XVIIIth century Warton's eleventh *Ode* (on the 'Approach of Summer') is worth consulting. He does little more than re-write this apostrophe to Mirth.

26—28. Cf. the picture Sylvester draws of Venus, I. p. 55:

"Whom wanton dalliance, dancing, and delight,
Smiles, witty wiles, youth, love and beauty bright,
With soft blind *Cupids* evermore consort," (i.e. attend).

26. Jollity and Laughter (l. 32) sometimes figure as allegorical *dramatis personæ* in the Masque-literature of the period. Cf. the account of the procession of Shirley's *Triumph of Peace* through London when the spectators saw amongst other characters "Jollity and Laughter: Jollity in a flame-coloured suit, but tricked like a morice-dancer, with scarfs and napkins (i.e. handkerchiefs), his hat fashioned like a cone, with a little fall. Laughter in a long side coat of several colours, laughing, Vizards on his breast and back."—Shirley's *Works* (Dyce's ed.), VI. 259. See *Com.* 104.

27. *Quips*=smart sayings; cf. Bullokar's *Expositor* (1616), "*Quippe*, A quicke checke, a pretty taunt." Almost always in a bad sense; cf. Spenser, *Mother Hubberds Tale*, 707, "with sharp quips joy'd others to deface," or *Much Ado*, II. 3. 249. So Milton in the *Apology for Smectymnus*, "when I saw his weak arguments headed with sharp taunts, and that his design was, if he could not refute them, yet at least with quips and snapping adages to vapour them out...."—*P. W.* III. 99.

Cranks=odd turns of speech, i.e. words distorted out of their sense. The underlying notion in *crank* is 'something twisted or bent.' Skeat compares the cognate Dutch words *kronkel*, a little bend, and *kronkelen*, to wrinkle, turn, wind. *Crank*=a winding passage, or curve, is not uncommon; cf. *Coriolanus*, I. 1. 141, "through the cranks and offices of man," i.e. the veins and arteries of the body, where Mr Aldis Wright quotes from Holland's translation of Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVI. 10, p. 297: "with departing speedily by the lake Sunonensis, and the winding cranks of the river Gallus, he deluded the enemie." Cf. also *The*

Two Kinsmen, I. 2. 28, "the cranks and turns of Thebes," i.e. its winding passages. Shakespeare has the verb twice; cf. 1 *Hen. IV.* III. 1. 98, "this river comes me cranking in," and *Venus and Adonis*, 682, where he describes how a hare "cranks and crosses with a thousand doubles." Shelley gave Milton's words a new meaning; cf. the *Witch of Atlas*, 51, "many quips and cranks She played upon the water;" i.e. sported like a seabird on the waves.

28. *Beck*=obeisance, bow. The *New E. D.* quotes from one of Surrey's poems in *Tottell's Miscellany*, "and with a becke full low he bowed at her feet" (Arber's *Reprint*, p. 128). See the *Promptorium*, "Bek, or lowte. *Inclinacio*" (where lowte=bow); and Florio, "Cenno, a nod, a becke, a signe." As a rule, however, it meant a gesture made with the hand; cf. Cotgrave: "Signe. A signe, marke,.....becke with the hand;" and *Hamlet*, III. 1. 27.

Wreathed, i.e. that wreathe the features; a transferred epithet.

29. Hebe, the cup-bearer of the gods (*Iliad* IV. 2), stands for the personification of youth. In the lines *Ad Salsillum*, 23, 24, Milton salutes good health (*salus*) as the 'sister of Hebe' (*Hebes Germana*). Cf. *Com.* 290.

31. Cf. the *Purple Island* IV. 13:

"Here sportful Laughter dwells, here ever-sitting
Defies all lumpish griefs, and wrinkled care;"

and VI. 35, "dainty Joys laugh at white-headed caring."

32. Contrast *Il Pen.* 37 *et seq.*

33. *Trip it.* A common idiom in the language of that time; now confined to slang phrases such as 'to fight it out.' The *it* seems to be a cognate accus. referring to the action which the speaker has in his mind's eye but does not verbally express: what that action is, the sense of the verb implies. Cf. *Midsummer N. D.* v. 403, "dance it trippingly," where *it* must=*dance;* or 3 *Hen. VI.* III. 3. 225, "to revel it with him," where *it*=*revelry*. Dr Abbott (*Gram.* p. 150) notes that *it* is often added in this way to "nouns or words that are not generally used as verbs, in order to give them the force of verbs," as in "foot it" (*Tempest*, I. 2. 380), "queen it" (*Hen. VIII.* II. 3. 37).

34. Cf. *Com.* 144, and Collins' ode, *The Passions*, "Love framed with Mirth a gay fantastic round."

Fantastic=whimsical, as in *Measure for M.* II. 2. 121. Usually Shakespeare writes *fantastical;* cf. *As You Like It*, III. 2. 431, III. 3. 107.

35—36. One of the passages in which we seem to catch an echo of

Milton's own voice. Love of liberty ("the nurse of all great wits," as he says in the *Areopagitica*) was with him an intensely strong feeling. It kept him from entering the Church, "because he who would take orders must subscribe slave." It led him a few years later (1639) to surrender his life of study and enter on one of political struggle; and throughout his prose-works (cf. in particular the *Areopagitica*) we find the same "noble rage of freedom" (Mark Pattison). Also, it is well to remember that *L'Al.* was written at a time when the absolutism of Charles I. was each month growing more decided.

36. "Is he thinking of Wales, Switzerland, Greece; and other mountainous countries, in which the heights have proved the great strong-holds of freedom?" (Hales). Probably. Collins makes Switzerland the home of freedom; cf. the *Ode to Liberty:*

"More pleased thy haunts I seek,
On wild Helvetia's mountains bleak."

For the same obvious sentiment cf. Wordsworth's lines:

"Two voices are there—one is of the sea,
One of the mountains—each a mighty voice:
In both from age to age thou didst rejoice,
They were thy chosen music, Liberty;"

and Landor, *Fiesolan Musings:*

"A pure libation pour'd to thee,
Unsoil'd, *uncitied* Liberty."

This interpretation is more probable than another mentioned by Hales, viz. that M. refers to "the absence of conventional restraints and general sense of unconfinement that belong to mountains."

Nymph. Cf. Collins in the *Ode to Liberty*, "Hail, nymph, adored by Britain, hail." Classical writers mention no Nymph of Liberty; but with Milton the tendency to personify is habitual.

38. *Admit me of*, i.e. to be a member of. The *New E. D.* quotes no other instance earlier than *The Guardian*, 1713, "Jack...was sent up to London, to be admitted of the Temple." Cf. however, the old phrase 'entered of' a College = matriculated at.

Crew, i.e. company; cf. 'ship's crew.' Elsewhere in Milton, as always in Shakespeare, a depreciatory word. Cf. *Nat. Ode*, 228.

39. See the extract from Marlowe's poem given in the *Introduction.*

40. *Unreproved*, i.e. unreprovable. Cf. *unenchanted* in *Com.* 395, and *uncontrolled* in the same poem, l. 793. See *Nat. Ode*, 116, note.

41. Cf. Milton's account of his own mode of life in the *Apology for Smectymnuus:* "He (i.e. Milton's opponent) follows me to the city...'and

where my morning haunts are, he wisses not.' Those morning haunts are where they should be, at home; not sleeping...but up and stirring, in winter often ere the sound of any bell awake men to labour, or to devotion; in summer as oft with the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors," *P. W.* III. 112. Among the Milton MSS found at Netherby Hall in Cumberland and printed by the Camden Society were two scraps of Latin verse, one of which is in praise of early rising. Cf. the description of morning in *P. L.* IX. 445—451.

42. *Dull*, inert, slow to pass away; cf. *Richard III.* I. 3. 196, "give way, dull clouds, to my quick curses."

43. Cf. (with Prof. Hales) the tract *Of Reformation in England:* "But ever blessed be He, and ever glorified, that from his high watch-tower in the heavens, discerning the crooking ways"—*P. W.* II. 406. See also *P. L.* V. 197—198, with its reminiscence of *Cymbeline*, II. 3. 21, or Lyly's *Campaspe.*

44. *Dappled.* True as it is picturesque; the epithet exactly describes the streaks of light that flake the sky when the morning begins to break in on the night. Cf. *Much Ado*, V. 3. 25—27:

"and look, the gentle day,
Before the wheels of Phœbus, round about
Dapples the drowsy east with spots of grey;"

or Phineas Fletcher's lines on the death of Queen Elizabeth:

"By this the old night's head 'gan to be gray,
And dappled round with many a whited spot."

Florio has, "Leardo, dapple...with red tawnie spots;" and Cotgrave, "Pommelé. Daple, or dapled." Skeat says: "dapple, a spot on an animal (Scand.) Icel. *depill*, a spot, dot....The orig. sense is 'a little pool,' from Norweg. *dapi*, a pool."

45—48. Who is it that comes and salutes whom? Is it (i) the lark that greets the poet? if so, we must make *to come* and *bid* depend on *hear* in l. 41, though 'hear *to* come' is awkward; cf. however, *Comedy of Errors*, V. 25, "who heard me to deny it?" and *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 120:

"I had rather hear you to solicit that
Than music from the spheres."

Or (ii) is it the poet who goes to the window and bids the world in general good morning? (iii) Or are we to suppose with Masson that at line 41 L'Allegro is already taking his walk? He hears the lark sing, sees the dawn rise, and then returns, "coming to the cottage window, looking in, and bidding a cheerful good-morrow through the

sweet briar, vine or eglantine, to those of the family who are also already astir" (Masson). In this case *to come* and *bid* depend on *admit* in l. 38, the construction being *admit me...to live* (39)...*to hear* (41)...*to come* (45). The grammar is satisfactory, but the sense seems to me very forced; "*my* window" surely implies the window of L'Allegro's own room. I am afraid that the lark must be meant: it is to fly close by the poet's window as it descends to the ground—perhaps even perch on the window-sill—and bid him good morning. Of course, this is entirely untrue to nature, but it is just the kind of inaccuracy that we note often in Milton, and we may conjecture how the mistake arose. Sylvester, from whom Milton borrowed repeatedly, has the following couplet in his translation of *Du Bartas* (Grosart's ed. I. 49):

"But cheerfull Birds, chirping him sweet good-morrows,
With Nature's Musick do beguile his sorrows."

This must have been the original of Milton's lines. He took Sylvester's idea and applied it to the lark of which he was speaking; and unfortunately the description did not suit its new context.

45. *In spite of*, i.e. by way of spiting sorrow. Cf. *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 194:

"They have conjoined all three
To fashion this false sport, in spite of me;"

i.e. to vex me. So *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 1. 85. The more usual sense is 'notwithstanding.' Cf. the quibble in *Much Ado*, v. 2. 69.

48. *Eglantine.* Really the same as the sweet-briar. Cf. Cotgrave, "Aiglantier. An eglentine, or Sweet-brier tree;" and Minsheu, "Eglentine, dogge-briar, or sweet-briar." So too Gerarde, "The Eglantine Rose...a kinde of Dogs Rose...is a shrub growing like a tree, full of prickles...in English Eglantine, or sweet Brier," *Herball*, 1597, p. 1088. See *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 252, *Cymbeline*, IV. 2. 223. Tennyson, *A Dirge*, IV., uses a curious form, "The woodbine and *eglatere* Drip sweeter dews."

O. F. *aiglantine*, mod. F. *æguille*, a needle, *aiguillon*, a goad, are all from Lat. *acicula*, a diminutive of *acus*.

Twisted. Why Milton should call the eglantine 'twisted' is not clear. Perhaps he thought that it was a species of honey-suckle or woodbine; see *Lyc.* 146, note. Writers of that period were rather confused as to the identity of these plants.

50. Possibly the original of a couplet in Cowley's *Davideis:*

"No pale-fac'd *moon* does in stol'n beams appear,
Or with dim *taper* scatters *darkness* there."

The line is a vivid metaphor: the lingering remnants of darkness fly before the light like a beaten army pursued by its conquerors.

52. Sylvester has a picture of a peacock "stroutting (i.e. strutting) stately," Grosart, I. p. 54. Cf. *Com.* 347.

53. Introducing a fresh pleasure. Cf. *Arc.* 56—58,

> "And early, ere the odorous breath of morn
> Awakes the slumbering leaves, or tasselled horn
> Shakes the high thicket."

The fifth stanza of Gray's *Elegy* is an ingenious combination of these verses in *Arc.* and the present passage in *L'Al.*

54. Some editors change to *cheerily;* but *cheerly* is the invariable form in Shakespeare. Cf. Tennyson's "hear a song that echoes cheerly," *Lady of Shalott.*

55. *Hoar*, i.e. with hoar frost.

56. Cf. the *Tractate of Education:* "Besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining experience to be won from pleasure itself abroad; in those vernal seasons of the year when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against nature, not to go out and see her riches, and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth," *P. W.* III. 477.

57. *Not unseen.* Contrast *Il Pen.* 65, "and missing thee, I walk unseen." The distinction characterizes the two types of men. L'Allegro requires witnesses of his pleasure, knowing with Bacon that fellowship "re-doubleth joys," just as it "cutteth grief in halves." Il Penseroso is self-centred, "by reason of sufficing for himself;" hence he seeks isolation.

59. See *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 391; Milton took many phrases from the scene, especially from lines 378—393. Cf. Browne, *Britannia's Pastorals*, I. 5, "the Morne doth looke Out of the Easterne Gates;" and II. 5:

> "The ruddy horses of the *Rosie Morne*
> Out of the Easterne Gates had newly borne
> Their blushing *Mistresse.*"

Keats in *Endymion* II. speaks of the "morning gates of heaven."

60. *State*, i.e. stately progress; cf. *Hen. VIII.* IV. 1. 93, "so she parted, And with the same full state paced back again;" and *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 4. 70. *Keep state*=maintain dignity was a common phrase; cf. Bacon's *Hist. of Hen. VII*, "chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence into the people," Pitt Press ed. p. 11. So Shakespeare in *Hen. V.* I. 2. 273.

61. *Amber.* Amber is a fossil resin, found chiefly along the southern shore of the Baltic; in hue yellowish and translucent. Tennyson often uses the word adjectivally; cf. the *Ode to Memory*, IV.:

"What time the amber morn
Forth gushes from beneath a low-hung cloud;"

and *Margaret*, I.:

"Like the tender amber round
Which the moon about her spreadeth,
Moving thro' a fleecy night."

In each of these passages Tennyson seems to have remembered *Com.* 331—333, and possibly *Il Pen.* 71—72. Amber is the tint of the atmosphere in the *Lotos-Eaters, Choric Song*, V.

62. *Livery* (French *livrée*) could be used in Milton's time of any kind of dress; cf. *P. L.* IV. 598—99, "twilight gray Had in her sober livery all things clad." But usually the word bore the meaning to which it is almost limited in modern E.; cf. Spenser's *State of Ireland*, "Liverye is also called the upper garment which serving men weareth, soe called (as I suppose) for that it is delivered and taken from him at pleasure," *Globe ed.* p. 623. Cf. the phrase *habits de livrée*=clothes delivered yearly by the king to the officers of his household. Middle E. *lyverè* signified 'something handed over,' being a collective term for whatever was dispensed by a lord to his officials and domestics, whether food, money, or garments. From Low Lat. *liberare*, to abandon.

Dight, i.e. being arrayed. Cf. Palsgrave, "to dyght, or dresse a thynge, *habiller*. A foule (i.e. ugly) woman rychly dyght, semeth fayre by candell lyght." *Dight* is short for *dighted*, and probably even when Milton wrote it was only used as a past part.; cf. Bullokar's *Expositor*, "Dight. Made ready: apparrelled, dressed." The proper meaning of the word was 'to put in order,' 'set right.' Thus Way, in his ed. of the *Promptorium*, p. 123, quotes from an old account-book (1467), "My Lady paid a surgeone for dytenge of hym, when he was hurte, 12*d.*" A. S. *dihtan*=*dictare*, to prescribe, one of the Latin words of the 'Second Period' (i.e. roughly speaking, from A.D. 596—1000) established in Anglo-Saxon.

66. If the poem describes the experiences of a single day we must conclude that Milton did not know, or remember, that hunting (ll. 53—56) does not belong to the time of year when there is hay-making.

Sithe. So Milton wrote, and it seems preferable to retain the correct form. Various words have been spelt with *sc* instead of *s* from

confusion with French words like *science;* cf. *scent* for *sent* (which Spenser uses, "hunter swifte and sent of houndes trew," *F. Q.* III. 4. 46) from Lat. *sentire;* or the common XVIIth cent. form *scite*=*site*, Lat. *situs*. A. S. *sīðe* is from the Aryan root *sek*, whence Lat. *secare*.

67. *Tells his tale*, i.e. numbers his sheep to see that none have strayed in the night. *Tell*=count, and *tale*=number (cf. Germ. *zahl*), were very common: it is reasonable to conclude that what the shepherd numbers is the flock. A correspondent of *N. and Q.* vth series, vol. II. p. 153, says that the phrase is "still in use on the sheep farms in the Teme Valley." Cf., in any case, Browne's first *Eclogue:*

"Seuer we our sheepe and fold them,
T'will be night ere we haue told them."

Florio has "*Numerare*, to number, to tell, to count;" and Minsheu "to Tell or number;" also "a Tale or score." Cf. *Psalm* xlviii. 12 ("tells the towers thereof"), and *Exodus* v. 18 ("the tale of bricks"). The line has also been explained to mean that every shepherd (i) 'relates his story'—which seems pointless, or (ii) 'tells his love.' In support of the latter view a writer in *N. and Q.* (1st series, vol. I. p. 316) quoted from Surrey's poems:

"Then lovers walke and tell their tale,
Both of their bliss and of their bale."

It is, however, open to doubt whether all the shepherds of a country-side would be simultaneously engaged in love-making—especially at such an early hour. See the *Nat. Ode*, 85.

68. Suggested by 3 *Hen. VI.* II. 5. 42, and imitated by Mason (who remembered *Lyc.* 189) in his *Musæus:*

"Thus the fond swain his doric oate essayed,
Unseen, unheard, beneath an hawthorn shade."

70. *Landskip.* Milton has the word in four places, *P. L.* II. 491, IV. 153, V. 142, and the present line. In each it is printed *lantskip*. We have followed the reading adopted by Masson and some other editors, because *landskip*, which preserves the earlier termination, was a recognized form. Cf. the *Spectator*, 94, "the other beholds a beautiful and spacious landskip, divided into delightful gardens, green meadows, fruitful herbs;" and Dyer's *Grongar Hill*, "draw the landskip bright and strong." Tennyson has revived the form, almost; cf. *Romney's Remorse*, "blurr'd like a landscip in a ruffled pool," with "the landscip darkened," *Merlin and the Gleam*. The substantival suffix *-skip*, or *-scape*, =A. S. *-scipe*, originally 'shape,' 'mode,' from *sceppan*, to shape, make: hence *land-skip*=*land-shape*. In modern E. the termina-

tion has been softened down to *ship*, as in *friend-ship*, *wor-ship*, etc. Cf. German *-schaft*, as in *Gesell-schaft*, Dutch *-schap*. *Landskip*, or *landscape*, was originally a term borrowed from Dutch artists (Earle, p. 319). Accordingly Ben Jonson, who as a soldier in the Netherlands picked up a number of Dutch words (see *Every Man in his Humour*), writes in the *Masque of Blackness*, "First, for the scene, was drawn a *lantschap*." Goldsmith has *landschape* in the *Deserted Village*, 358.

71. According to some editors *russet*=brown. Myself I think that the sense required is 'grey.' Derived from O. F. *rousset*, a diminutive of *roux* (cf. Low Lat. *roussetum* in Du Cange), *russet* ought to mean 'reddish,' or 'reddish-brown;' and usually it does. Cf. Cotgrave, "Rousset. Russet, brown, inclining to a dark red;" and Minsheu, "Russet, vide Browne." Cotgrave, however, also has "Gris. Gray, light-russet, grizle, ash-coloured;" and grey seems to be the colour intended in several passages where XVIIth cent. writers have used *russet*. Cf., for instance, Jonson's *Masque of Beauty:* "I induced (i.e. brought on the stage) Boreas, one of the winds, as my fittest messenger; presenting him thus: In a robe of russet and white...his hair and beard rough and horrid; his wings grey, and full of snow and icicles." Here 'red' or 'brown' would be manifestly inappropriate: no one would symbolize the north wind by those tints: 'grey' on the other hand, or 'ash-coloured,' exactly fits the rest of the description. Again, Shakespeare in *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 21 speaks of "russet-pated choughs." Probably *chough*=jackdaw, and the latter has no tinge of red; accordingly some editors read *russet-patted*, i.e. red-legged, *à pattes rousses*. If, however, Shakespeare used *russet-pated* to mean 'greyish-headed,' the epithet was quite accurate, since jackdaws do have grey plumage round the ears and neck. In the same way 'grey' suits the context in *Hamlet*, I. 1. 166, "the morn in russet mantle clad," as 'grey' is almost a perpetual epithet in Shakespeare for the dawn; see *Romeo*, III. 5. 19, *Much Ado*, V. 3. 26—27. It would appear therefore that in the English of this period *russet* was a picturesque word, signifying either 'red,' or 'brown,' or 'grey,' or half-shades of these colours. I believe that in this line "russet lawns" and "fallows gray" mean much the same thing, and that Milton is thinking of the 'ash-coloured' appearance presented by a hill-side where the grass is short and poor of quality. Cf. the picture of a mountain in *Marmion*, canto I. *Introduction:*

> "Sallow his brow, and russet bare
> Are now the sister-heights of Yair."

For *lawn*=a stretch of land, see the *Nat. Ode*, 85, note.

Strictly *fallow*=pale or yellowish, being cognate with *pallidus* and Germ. *fahl*. Cf. "*fallow* deer," and "fallow greyhound" in *Merry Wives*, I. 1. 91. Ploughed land which is not tilled is of this colour: hence the derived sense of *fallow*=untilled. Here perhaps='fields.'

73, 84. "This passage alone would confirm the view that the scenery of *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, though they may have been written at Horton, is not to be regarded as all actual or local, but as mainly ideal and eclectic. A mountain near Horton was never seen but in dreams" (Masson).

75. The 1645 ed. has "*with* daisies;" the 1673 ed. "*and* daisies." *Pied*=variegated; cf. *Love's L. L.* v. 2. 904, "when daisies pied and violets blue." In *The Tempest*, III. 2. 71 ("a pied ninny"), it is applied to a jester's motley coat; so in Jonson's *Masque of Christmas*, "Mumming, in a masquing pied suit, with a vizard." Derived from *pie*, a magpie (short for Lat. *pica*), because of the appearance presented by the bird's plumage.

76. The Thames was not far from Horton; its banks may be the "wide-watered shore" of *Il Pen.* 75.

77. Alluding surely to Windsor Castle. So Masson suggests; cf. the reference in the *Vacation Exercise* to "royal-towered Thame." Gray paints the same scene in his ode on *Eton College*.

78. *Bosomed*, i.e. deep-hidden in. Cf. Wordsworth's description of "Como, bosomed deep in chestnut groves." In *Com.* 361 *bosom*='keep in the bosom,' 'guard;' cf. *Hen. VIII.* I. 1. 112, and Day's *Ile of Guls*, I. 3, "I'le bosome what I thinke," Bullen's ed. p. 25.

Tufted. Cf. "tufted grove" in *Com.* 225, and Tennyson's line "when rosy plumelets tuft the larch" (*In Memoriam*, XCI.). In *P. L.* VII. 326, *tuft* (the noun) seems to mean a clump of trees; cf. Bacon's recommendation that gardens should be set out "with some pretty tufts of fruit trees," essay *Of Gardens*.

79. *Lies*, i.e. dwells, resides; cf. *Coriolanus*, I. 9, 82,

> "I sometime lay here in Corioli
> At a poor man's house."

When the king on one of his royal progresses stayed at a place he was said to 'lie' there. Cf. *Merry Wives*, II. 2, 63, "the court lay at Windsor." See also *Com.* p. 69.

80. i.e. the object to which neighbouring eyes are directed; the metaphor of no. (ii) *infra*. Strictly *Cynosure*=the constellation of the Lesser Bear, which contains the pole-star; so called from its supposed

resemblance to the shape of a dog's tail—*κυνὸς οὐρα*. Greek sailors steered by the Greater Bear (also called Helice, from ἑλίσσω, to whirl), the Phœnicians by the Lesser. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, III. 107, 108:

duas Arctos quarum Cynosura petatur
Sidoniis, Helicen Graia carina notet;

with *Com.* 341, 342, "our star of Arcady, or *Tyrian* Cynosure." As *Cynosura* meant literally the star to which sailors looked, *Cynosure* came to signify metaphorically (i) 'a guiding star,' (ii) 'an object on which attention is specially fixed.' For (i) cf. Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Grosart I. 68):

"To the bright Lamp which serves for *Cynosure*
To all that sail upon the sea obscure;"

and Mason's *Heroical Epistle*,

"Knight of the polar star! by fortune plac'd,
To shine the Cynosure of British taste."

This use of the word is obsolete; but *Cynosure* = 'something to which attention is bent,' survives: "we went to tea, and I found him the Cynosure of seven or eight pairs of eyes that make up the English Colony in Genoa," *Life of Lord Houghton*, II. 125. Cf. too Spenser's exactly similar use of the name Helice, *Sonnet*, 34:

"Yet hope I well that, when this storme is past,
My Helice, the lode-star of my lyfe,
Will shine again."

82. *From betwixt.* An awkward arrangement of words; cf. *Com.* 46, 47, "that first from out the purple grape Crushed the sweet poison;" and *S. A.* 877.

83. Milton uses names which suggest the *Idyls* of Theocritus or the *Eclogues* of Vergil, and which have been treated by the imitators of those poets as peculiar to the pastoral style. Here, in a poem descriptive of *English* scenery and country-life, they are to some extent incongruous. Thyrsis (from *Theocritus* I.) is the name of the Attendant Spirit in *Comus* and of Milton himself in the *Epitaphium Damonis* l. 4:

quas miser effudit voces, quæ murmura Thyrsis.

Remembering the latter poem Mason appropriately introduced Milton as Thyrsis in his *Musæus:*

"Last came a bard of more majestic tread,
And Thyrsis hight."

Matthew Arnold renewed and increased the associations of the title when he wrote his monody on Clough.

85. *Messes*, i.e. dishes. Cf. Milton's *Hist. of Moscovia*, chap. v.,

"They were at length called in to dinner; where the Emperor was set at table.....The messes came in without order, but all in chargers of gold, both to the Emperor, and to the rest that dined there;" and again, "The English were set at a small table by themselves.....the messes were but mean, but the change of wines and several meaths were wonderful," *P. W.* v. pp. 422, 423. Often *mess*='dishful;' e.g. in More's *Richard III.*, "My Lord you haue very good strawberries at your gardayne in Holberne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them," p. 46. Cf. *Genesis* xliii. 34. Derived through O. F. *mes*= mod. F. *mets*, from L. *missus; mittitur enim* (as Minsheu says) *et conuiuis in mensas apponitur. Mass*, the service, has the same origin.

86. *Phillis.* "The name is usuall in Theocritus, Vergile, and Mantuane," *Glosse* to *Shepheards Cal., Februarie. Neat-fingered* occurs in the *Animadversions*, *P. W.* III. 55.

87. *Bower*, i.e. chamber; specially used in ballad-poetry of the ladies' room in a house, and contrasted with *Hall*=the room of state. Cf. *Com.* 45, and Chaucer's *House of Fame*, 94—96:

"All was of stone of beryle,
Bothe castel and the toure,
And eke the halle, and every boure."

Bower=A. S. *búr*, a chamber; cf. the north-country word *byre*.

90. Understand *goes*, or some such word, from line 87: she leaves her bower either to join Thestylis in binding the corn, or (if it be earlier in the year) to take part with the haymakers.

91. *Secure*, i.e. free from care, Lat. *securus*. Cf. Bullokar's *Expositor*, 1616, "Secure, Carelesse, voyde of feare." So Milton in *Eikonoklastes*, chap. XVIII., "he follows at the heels of these messengers of peace with a train of covert war; and with a bloody surprise falls on our secure forces, which lay quartering at Brentford, in the thoughts and expectation of a treaty"—*P. W.* I. pp. 441, 442. The meaning is common in Shakespeare; cf. *Hen. V.* IV. prol. 17:

"Proud of their numbers and secure in soul;"

cf. also Macbeth's "Security is mortal's chiefest enemy," III. 5. 32.

92. *Upland hamlets*, i.e. "little villages among the slopes, away from the river-meadows and the haymaking" (Masson). For *upland*= 'up country,' i.e. in the hilly districts, cf. Milton's *History of Britain*, book II., "in peace the upland inhabitants, besides hunting, tended their flocks," *P. W.* v. 197. Cf. also Gray's *Elegy*, 100, or Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis:*

"Some loss of habit's power
Befalls me wandering through this upland dim;"

and again:

"But hush! the upland hath a sudden loss
Of quiet."

Uplandish (like *mountaineer*, cf. *Com.* 426) was often a term of contempt, signifying 'boorish,' 'countryfied.' Cf. Puttenham's *Art of Poesy*, "Any uplandish village or corner of a realme, where there is no resort but of poor rustical people," p. 157, Arber's *Reprint.*

94. The Rebeck, the forerunner of the viol and violin, was an instrument with catgut strings (at first two, and later three or four), played with a bow; cf. Sylvester (Grosart I. 127), "Wiery *Cymbals*, Rebecks sinnews twin'd." It was in fact a kind of fiddle; cf. Cotgrave, "Rebec. The fiddle tearmed a Rebeck;" and Minsheu, "A Rebeck, or fiddle." That its tone was shrill may be gathered from a XIIIth cent. poem:

Quidam rebecam arcuabant,
Muliebrem vocem confingentes.

For this reason it was a prominent instrument in mediæval orchestras. After the invention of violins the rebeck fell into disuse, and was "banished to the streets of towns and to rustic festivities" (Grove's *Dict.*), so "jocund rebecks" in this verse is a very accurate piece of description; Milton was painting faithfully a village-*fête* such as he had often seen in Buckinghamshire. Cf. the *Areopagitica*, "The villages also must have their visitors to inquire what lectures the bagpipe and the rebeck reads, even to the ballatry and gamut of every municipal fiddler; for these are the countryman's Arcadias," *P. W.* II. p. 73. The rebeck survived in France till the last century. Curiously enough, though it was so popular in England, no known specimen exists. It is, however, frequently found in illustrations of MSS., and an example (from an Italian painting of the XIIIth cent.) in *Grove's Dict. of Music* shows that the outline of the instrument was not unlike that of a mandolin. Hugh Rubeck is the name of one of the musicians in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. 5. It may be inferred that Byron's line in *Childe Harold*, I. 46, "Nor here War's clarion, but Love's rebeck sounds," was not very appropriate. *Rebeck* is derived from Arabic *rabâba*, which passed into Italian as *ribebba* or *ribecca*, and thence into O. F. as *rebebe* or *rebec*. In early E. we find both *rybybe* (as in Chaucer, *Freres Tale*, 79) and *rebeke*.

96. *Chequered*, i.e. with the light streaming through the foliage. Cf. Pope, *Dunciad*, IV. 125, "you my critics! in the chequered

shade;" and *Titus Andronicus*, II. 3. 15. *Chequer*, like *exchequer*, comes from Late Lat. *scaccarium*. *Ludus scaccorum*=game of kings, and *scaccus* is a corruption of the Persian word *shâh*, a king, the *shâh* being the chief piece in the game. *E. chess* (better written *checks*), F. *échecks*, Ital. *scacco*, Germ. *schach*, are all derived from *shâh*.

97, 98. Cf. *Com.* 958, 959; *Richard II.* IV. 1. 221.

100. Professor Hales thinks with Warton that *spicy nutbrown ale*= the 'gossip's bowl' of Shakespeare, a beverage made of ale, nutmeg, sugar, toast, and roasted crabs or apples. See *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 5. 175, and *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 47—50, where Mr Aldis Wright quotes Breton's *Fantastickes*, *January*, "An Apple and a nutmeg make a Gossips cup." The 'wassail-bowl' described in Peacock's *Crotchet Castle* evidently belongs to the same *genus*. Milton alludes more than once to the custom of putting spices in wine; cf. *Eikonoklastes*, chap. XXVII., "intoxicated...with the cup of deception, spiced and tempered to their bane," *P. W.* I. 483; and the *Areopagitica*, "rises, is saluted, and after the malmsey, or some well-spiced bruage.....walks abroad," *P. W.* II. 86. To 'bespice' a draught was a euphemism for putting poison in it; cf. the *Winter's Tale*, I. 2. 316, "bespice a cup, To give mine enemy a lasting wink."

101, 102. Professor Earle says, "How did Milton sound the rhymes?...Must we suppose that *eat* being in the preterite, and equivalent to *ate*, had a sound unlike our present pronunciation of *feat*. This, with the derivation of *feat* from the French *fait*, suggests the sounds 'fayt' and 'ayt,'" *Philology*, p. 174. But cf. *Much Ado*, V. 1. 50, where *bleat* rhymes with *feat*. *Feat=factum*.

102. *Mab*. The *locus classicus* on Queen Mab is *Romeo and Juliet*, I. 4. 54—95. Her name is Celtic, *Mabh* being the title of the chief of the Irish fairies; see Furness's 'Variorum' *Romeo and Juliet*, pp. 61, 62. Herrick has a poem called *The Beggar to Mab, the Fairie Queen*, Grosart's ed. II. p. 262. *Mab* in Welsh=child, and doubtless the Queen was diminutive as Titania herself; indeed Mercutio says that she was "in shape no bigger than an agate-stone." Of course Queen Mab eat the junkets to punish the inmates of the house for untidiness. Herrick (II. p. 165) says:

"If ye will with Mab find grace,
Set each platter in his place:
Wash your pailes, and clense your Dairies."

She is a character in Ben Jonson's *Entertainment*, *The Satyr*, and a list of her evil ways is given as a warning to country-folk.

Junkets, i.e. dainties. *Junket* = Ital. *guincata*, a cream cheese, so-called because served on rushes: Ital. *guinco*, a rush = Lat. *juncus*. Cf. Cotgrave's explanation of French *jonchée*, "greene cheese or fresh cheese made of milke that's curdled without any runnet, and served in a paile of green rushes." The *Promptorium* has *junctata* = *brede-chese* i.e. cream cheese. Afterwards *junket* came to signify any kind of dainty or sweetmeat; as in Minsheu, "junckets, or fine banqueting dishes;" and Sherwood (1650), "Jonkets. Friandise, Comfitures." Cf. the *Taming of the Shrew*, III. 3. 250, Spenser's 77th *Sonnet*. Only once elsewhere in Milton, *Apology for Smectymnuus*, *P. W.* III. 132.

103. *She*, i.e. one of the company; answered by *he*, l. 104.

Pinched. Fairies always showed their displeasure in this way, as Falstaff had good cause to know, *Merry Wives*, v. 5. 96, 106. Cf. a song in Campion's *Book of Airs*, where ladies are warned:

"But if you let your lovers moan,
The fairy-queen Proserpina
Will send abroad her fairies every one,
That shall pinch black and blue
Your white hands," Bullen's ed. 22;

or *Britannia's Pastorals*, I. 2:

"A Hillock-rise, where oft the Fairy-Queene
At twylight sat, and did command her elves
To pinch those maids," Hazlitt, I. 66.

104—114. Here a new speaker strikes in with *his* tale. The hero of this story, "the drudging goblin" (l. 105), is the "shrewd and knavish sprite, called Robin Goodfellow, *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 33, 34," and it is probable that the description of Puck, II. 1. 32—58, was in Milton's recollection when he wrote these verses, 104—114. Robin Goodfellow appears among the *dramatis personæ* of Jonson's Masque, *Love Restored*, and describes himself as "the honest plain country spirit, and harmless; Robin Goodfellow, he that sweeps the hearth and the house clean, riddles for the country-maids, and does all their other drudgery." That, however, he was not always so honest and harmless may be seen from the Ballad in Percy's *Reliques* (III. 2) which recounts "The Merry Pranks of Robin Goodfellow."

And he. I have retained what is, apart from punctuation, the reading of the 1645 ed. It brings in a fresh narrator. His *main* story tells "how the goblin sweat" (i.e. laboured): he has a *minor* story, how he was misled by the goblin's lantern (see next note): and this minor story seems to be thrown in parenthetically, the grammar being

"*he*, *led* by the lantern, *tells*." Another explanation connects l. 104, not with l. 105, but with l. 103: "*she* said she was pinched, *he* said he was led:" *led* them becomes the predicate after *he said* understood from l. 103. The objection to this is, that it leaves the verb *tells* without a subject, though we can easily supply *he*. Either way, the text is very awkward, and this Milton must have felt as in the 1673 ed. he altered the line to *and by the Friar's Lanthorn led*. With this reading the passage becomes simple: the speaker is the same throughout, viz. *she*, and *led* in l. 104 is parallel to *pinched* and *pulled* in l. 103. All the editors keep the 1645 reading and I have not ventured to introduce the later version. I believe it, however, to be right, and if in the *Nativity Ode*, 143, 144, we follow the 1673 ed. we might do so here.

Friar's lantern. Keightley thought that in these words Milton had confounded two separate characters of folklore, viz. the house-spirit, Friar Rush, and the out-of-door spirit, Will-o'-the-Wisp or Jack-o'-the-Lanthorn, who misled travellers by night with an *ignis fatuus* (cf. *P. L.* IX. 634—642). It is possible however that Milton is not referring to either spirit, but that the *friar* of l. 104 is identical with the *goblin* (i.e. Robin Goodfellow) of l. 105. For two reasons: (i) *friar* was a title of Robin Goodfellow; this I take to be proved by a passage from Harsnet's *Declaration of Popish Impostures*, which Mr Aldis Wright quotes in his *Introduction* to *Midsummer N. D.* p. XIX.: "and if that the bowle of curds, and creame were not duly set out for *Robin good-fellow* the Frier—why then the pottage was burnt." (ii) The trick of misleading with a false light was not confined to Jack-o'-the-Lanthorn. Burton (*Anatomy*) mentions a whole class of spirits "called *Ambulones*," who did this, and Puck (=Robin Goodfellow) expressly says of himself "sometime a horse I'll be...sometime a *fire*," *Midsummer N. D.* III. 1. 111—112.

105. *Drudging.* Florio has "strappazare, to oppresse, to misuse, to put to all drudgerie;" and Sherwood gives *balayeuse*, *souillon*, *souillonne*, *vilain* s. v. *drudge*. The verb, spelt *druggen* in Middle E., is probably Celtic, and seems originally to have meant 'to pull by force.' Cf. Chaucer, *Knightes Tale*, 557—558, "at the gate he profred his servyse, To drugge and drawe, what-so men wolde devyse." *Drugger-beste*="the animal that has to pull forcibly." In *Timon of Athens*, IV. 3. 254 *drugs=drudges*.

Goblin is from O. F. *gobelin*, Low Lat. *gobelinum; gobelinus* being the diminutive of Low Lat. *cobalus*, 'mountain-sprite;' cf. Gk. κόβαλος, 'a rogue.' Formerly *goblin* was supposed to be a corruption of *Ghibe-*

line; cf. the *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal., June.* This belief probably influenced the spelling of the word; cf. the *F. Q.* II. 10. 73, "who overcame The wicked Gobbelines in bloody field."

106. *Cream-bowl.* His regular reward for service done: he would accept nothing besides. Cf. the passage from Scots' *Discovery of Witchcraft* quoted by Ritson in illustration of *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 25: "Your grandams maides were wont to set a boll of milke before him (i.e. Incubus) and his cousin Robin Goodfellow, for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight: and you have also heard that he would chafe exceedingly, if the maid or goodwife of the house, hauing compassion of his nakednes, laid anie clothes for him, beesides his messe of white bread and milke, which was his standing fee." Cf. also, with Mr Aldis Wright (*Introduction* to *Midsummer N. D.* p. xix.) Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Part I. Sec. 2. Mem. 1. Subs. 2), "A bigger kind there is of them (i.e. spirits), called with us *hobgoblins*, and *Robin Goodfellows*, that would, in those superstitious times, grind corn for a mess of milk, cut wood, or do any manner of drudgery work." There is the same allusion in Collins' *Ode on the Popular Superstitions of the Highlands:*

"There, each trim lass that skims the milky store,
To the swart tribes their creamy bowl allots."

108. *Shadowy*, i.e. without substance, unreal.

110. *Lubbar.* Cf. Shakespeare's title for Puck, "thou lob of spirits," *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 16. Etymologically *lob*=*lubbar*, or *lubber;* cf. Minsheu, "A Lobbe, lubber, or clown." Probably of Celtic origin; Skeat compares Welsh *llob*, a dolt. In the *Apology for Smectymnus* Milton sneers at his opponent as a "cloistered lubber."

Fiend=one who hates, being the A. S. *féond*=pres. part. of *féon*, to hate. Cf. Gothic *fijands*, enemy, the pres. part. of *fijan*, to hate; and Germ. *feind.* Sometimes applied, as here, to evil spirits; cf. the *Faithful Shepherdess*, 1, "wood-god, fairy, elf or fiend." Spelt *fend* in the eds. of 1645 and 1673, which makes the rhyme clearer.

111. Cf. the *Vacation Exercise*, 60. *Chimney*=fireplace, as in *Cymbeline*, II. 4. 80, "the chimney is south the chamber." *Chimney* =O. F. *cheminee*, Late Lat. *caminata*, a room with a stove=Lat. *caminus*, Gk. κάμινος. For French *ch* cf. *champ* from *campus*, *char* from *carrus*.

113. *Cropfull*, i.e. with the cream-bowl.

Flings, i.e. dashes; cf. the *Animadversions*, "This is but to fling and struggle under the inevitable net of God, that now begins to

environ you round," *P. W.* III. 86. More parallel, however, is *Timon of Athens*, IV. 2. 45, "he's flung in rage from this ungrateful seat."

114. The ghost in *Hamlet* "faded on the crowing of the cock;" it was the orthodox signal for the departure of spirits. See Horatio's speech, I. 1. 149—156, and cf. the illustration of that passage quoted by Douce from St Ambrose's Hymn in the Salisbury Service:

"*Omnis Errorum chorus*
Viam nocendi deserit,
Gallo canente."

Matin, i.e. his morning note; in *Hamlet* I. 5. 89 *matin* = morning:

"The glowworm shows the matin to be near."

116. *Lulled*. *Lull* = 'sing to rest.' Old Dutch *lullen* = 'sing in a humming voice.' No doubt an onomatopœic word, formed from the sound *lu lu* which nurses repeated in sending children to sleep. Cf. the *Promptorium*, "Lullynge of young chylder. *Neniacio;*" and Cotgrave, "*Assopir:* to lay, bring, or lull, asleep."

117. Here, and in l. 131, *then* = 'on another occasion.' He is enumerating a series of pleasant experiences: at one time the country will attract L'Allegro, at another the town. It seems absurd to take *then* quite literally, as though Milton meant to say that after the country-folk have gone to bed L'Allegro returns to the town. For *then* as we explain it, cf. *As You Like It*, III. 2. 436, "would...*then* entertain him, *then* forswear him," i.e. now one, now the other.

Towered cities. Milton may be thinking of his own visits to London. Perhaps he had also been to Oxford, where he was incorporated M.A. in 1635. 'Towered' would describe the city of the "dreaming spires."

119—134. Does L'Allegro actually see the sights enumerated? or does he merely read about them? The latter, according to Professor Masson, is Milton's meaning: L'Allegro is in his study, busy with a volume of some old chronicler wherein deeds of chivalry are described, or intent on a play by one of the great dramatists: no more than reading is intended. To me this explanation appears improbable. We are, surely, to suppose that L'Allegro actually takes part in these gay meetings and festivities; that he goes to the theatre to look with his own eyes on the 'humours' of, it may be, the *Poetaster*, and enjoy the music of the spoken verse of *Midsummer N. D.* This view, I cannot help thinking, is more natural, and if we remember *Il Pen.* 85—102, more pointed. There, without question, Milton is speaking of study and the pleasure which a recluse derives from poring over the works of philosophers and tragedians. For Il Penseroso, the man of reserve and

inaction, such pleasure is the highest; he would sooner read *Hamlet* in his own "lonely tower" than see it performed in the playhouse. But L'Allegro is the man of activity and social taste: a Masque at Whitehall or Greenwich, a 'Revel' at the Middle Temple, a comedy at the theatre—these are the delights that Mirth should offer to him. All through the two poems we have these details of characterisation which emphasise the distinction between the types depicted.

119—124. The lines paint in miniature a typical scene of mediæval chivalry. An episode in Malory or some other of the Middle Age chroniclers had quickened Milton's imaginative sense of the picturesqueness of knight-errantry and romance, and he writes here as Scott might have written. But thirty years later his feeling was very different; cf. the scornful passage in *P. L.* IX. 25—43. For allusions in Milton to some of the great cycles of mediæval prose and poetic romance, see *P. L.* I. 579—587, *P. R.* II. 358—361 (each of these passages refers to the story of King Arthur and the Round Table), and *P. R.* III. 338—343; and cf. the following passage in the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, where he is speaking of his early education and pursuits: "Next (for hear me out now, readers), that I may tell ye whither my younger feet wandered; I betook me among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from thence had in renown over all Christendom," *P. W.* III. 118. See *Il Pen.* 116—120.

120. *Weeds*. i.e. dress; A. S. *wǽd* = 'garment.' Now the plural, *weeds*, is always used, signifying only one kind of dress. But in Elizabethan E. we often find the singular, *weed*, applied to any sort of clothing. Cf. *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 256: "Weed wide enough to wrap a fairy in." "Dank and dropping weeds" is Milton's translation of *uvida vestimenta* in Horace, *Odes*, I. 5. 15. Cf. also *Troilus and Cressida*, III. 3. 239, "great Hector in his *weeds of peace*." Tennyson has the same use (*In Memoriam*, V.):

"In words like weeds I'll wrap me o'er."

Triumph = "a public festivity or exhibition of any kind, particularly a tournament," Schmidt, *Lexicon*. Cf. *Midsummer N. D.* I. 1. 19:

"With pomp, with triumph and with revelling;"

and Bacon's *Hen. VII.* p. 98 ("he kept great triumphs of jousting and tourney"), p. 187 and p. 219, Pitt Press ed.

It has been objected, too critically, that tilts and such like sports were not in use when M. wrote.

121. *Store of*, i.e. plenty of, many. Cf. Bacon's *Hist. of Hen. VII.*

"conducted to Paul's church, in solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled," p. 30. In the *Tract of Education* Milton recommends the study of "some easy and delightful book of education ...whereof the Greeks have store," *P. W.* III. 468. One of Heywood's *Proverbs* says "store is no sore." From O. F. *estoire*, Low Lat. *instaurum; instaurare* in Late Lat. = to provide necessaries.

125—121. Cf. Tennyson's picture in the *Morte D'Arthur* of

"that Arthur, who, with lance in rest
Shot thro' the lists at Camelot, and charged
Before the eyes of ladies and of kings."

122. Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, "while God every morning *rains* down new expressions into our hearts," *P. W.* I. 431. See *Nat. Ode*, 71.

123. Cf. the 'sets of wit' in *Love's Labour's Lost.*

125—6. The couplet reads like a description of some episode in one of the great Masques of the reign of James I. Often had the marriage-god appeared on the stage at Whitehall, arrayed as Milton has here painted him, in saffron robes, with the wedding-torch in his hand. Cf. Ben Jonson's *Masque of Hymen*, where a stage direction says: "On the other hand, entered Hymen (the god of marriage) in a saffron-coloured robe, his under vestures white, his socks yellow, a yellow veil of silk on his left arm, his head crowned with roses and marjoram, in his right hand a torch of pine-tree." Fletcher writes in the *Purple Island*, XII. 87:

"Come Hymen, Hymen come, drest in thy golden pall;"

and his *Epithalamium* describes the god "Clad with a saffron-coat, in's hand a light," Grosart's ed. III. 204. Cf. *Britannia's Pastorals*, II. 5, "a robe unfit Till Hymen's saffron'd weed had usher'd it;" and Milton's fifth *Elegy*, 105—108.

126. *Taper clear.* Cf. Campion's *Description of a Masque Presented at the Wedding of the Earl of Somerset* (1614):

"Vanish, vanish! hence confusion!
Dim not Hymen's golden light;"

or Herrick's *Hesperides:*

"Behold! how Hymen's taper light
Shews you how much is spent of night."

Cf. the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 18—22.

127. *Pomp.* Compare *S. A.* 1312, "sacrifices, triumph, pomp, and games." Strictly *pomp* meant 'a festival procession,' like the Greek πομπή; cf. Bullokar's *Expositor*, "Pompe. A great shew, a solemne traine." So Shakespeare in *King John*, III. 1. 304, "shall braying

trumpets.....be measure to our pomp?" Later 'a pageant,' as here, cf. *Midsummer N. D.* I. 1. 15, *King John*, II. 5. 60.

Revelry. Milton is thinking of the *Revels* or theatrical entertainments held at the Court, at the lawyers' Inns of Court, and the houses of great nobles. In Charles I.'s reign plays written for private representation were *Entertainments* or *Masques*.

128. *Masque.* Such as Milton himself wrote in *Comus*. *Arcades*, too, was a kind of Masque for outdoor performance. The Masque was borrowed from Italy in the reign of Henry VIII., grew into popularity during the XVIth century, and reached its zenith under James I. It was a costly spectacular entertainment much in vogue with the Court and the nobles. Under Charles I. it declined a little, and at the outbreak of the Civil War practically ceased. Almost all the Jacobean playwrights composed Masques, but no one was so eminently a master of the art as Ben Jonson. See the Pitt Press ed. of *Comus*, LI.—LXXVI. Contrast *P. L.* IV. 768, "mixed dance or *wanton* masque."

The word *Masque* is derived from the Arabic *maskharat* = "a buffoon, jester, man in masquerade, a pleasantry, anything ridiculous" (Skeat). The spelling *mask* = Ital. *maschera* appears to be earlier than *masque* = French *masque*.

Contrast with ll. 125—128 the preface to *Eikonoklastes*, where Milton ridicules the frontispiece to the *Eikon Basilike*, viz. "the conceited portraiture (i.e. of Charles I.), drawn out of the full measure of a masking scene, and set there to catch fools and silly gazers.... But quaint emblems and devices, begged from the old pageantry of some twelfth night's entertainment at Whitehall, will do but ill to make a saint or martyr, *P. W.* I. 312. *Eikonoklastes* was written in 1649, when Milton was a politician. Throughout *L'Allegro* he speaks as a poet.

130. *Haunted* i.e. by the water-nymphs. Cf. the *Nat. Ode*, 184.

131. *Well-trod*, which implies skill rather of the actor than of the playwright, hardly fits in with Masson's idea that no more than reading dramatic literature is meant.

132. i.e. when one of Ben Jonson's comedies is being played. Ben Jonson was then Poet Laureate. Educated at Westminster School and St John's College, Cambridge, he first attracted notice by his comedy *Every Man in His Humour*, 1596; wrote eighteen plays (tragedies as well as comedies), a number of Masques, some minor poetry, and some excellent prose (*Discoveries*); and died in 1637. Perhaps the best, and best known, of his plays are *The Alchemist* according to Coleridge, one of the three most perfectly constructed

works in all literature), *Volpone* and *The Silent Woman*. His influence on English letters was very great; and it was cast entirely on the side of learning and correctness of style. Sometimes, as in *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, he chose classical subjects; but whatever the theme Jonson showed himself above all things a scholar. His Masques, for instance, with their foot-notes, reveal minute knowledge of classical writers. It is this quality of scholarship that Milton recognises in the epithet 'learned,' and the distinction he draws between the *culture* of Jonson and the *natural genius* of Shakespeare was long a commonplace of criticism. Cf. the *Prologue* written by Dr Johnson for the opening of Drury Lane Theatre in 1747. We can understand that Milton's sympathy would lie with the scholar-poet. Critics (e.g. Mr Symonds) trace the influence of Jonson in *Arcades*. Mr Saintsbury notes that Milton was almost the only young poet of that period who did not belong to the immediate circle of Jonson's friends, the 'tribe' of ambitious writers who gathered round the Poet Laureate, and were proud to sign themselves his 'sons' (*Elizabethan Literature*, p. 175). See *Il Pen.* 101—102 (note) for a possible allusion to Jonson's tragedies; they were inferior to his comic pieces, and it is as a master of comedy that Dryden, like Milton, mentions him in *Mac Flecknoe*, 72, 73:

"Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
Nor greater Jonson dares in socks appear."

The *sock*, Lat. *soccus*, was the low-heeled slipper worn by actors in comic pieces, the *buskin* being the boot, with high heels, that tragic actors used. Often *sock*=comedy, and *buskin*=tragedy. The words are frequently contrasted; cf. *Apology for Smectymnuus*, "likening those grave controversies to a piece of stagery, or scene-work, where his own Remonstrant, whether in buskin or sock, must of all right be counted the chief player," *P. W.* III. 105—6. The editors have remarked that the phrase "or when thy socks were on" occurs, with the same sense, in the lines on Shakespeare that Jonson wrote for the First Folio, 1623.

133—134. Probably Milton was thinking of *Midsummer N. D.* and *The Tempest*. There are, I believe, more allusions in his poems to these two plays than to all the rest of Shakespeare's dramas put together. *Midsummer N. D.* was an especial favourite, and the description here would be applicable to it, and to those lyric portions of *The Tempest* which seem to have furnished hints for *Comus*. But "wood-notes wild" is true neither of Shakespeare's tragedies, nor of his historical plays, nor of the greater body of his comedies. The couplet in fact is faint praise, and it has been doubted whether Milton had a very

keen sense of Shakespeare's greatness. True, there is the *Epitaph*, but in it, as here, the quality on which he appears to lay most stress is Shakespeare's facility of composition:

"to the shame of slow-endeavouring art
Thy easy numbers flow;"

and the "slow-endeavouring art" is doubtless Milton's own. Again, the *Epitaph* was written in 1630, in Milton's twenty-third year: various indications suggest that he thought differently later on. We have the reference in *Eikonoklastes* which Warton and Sir Walter Scott interpreted as a direct sneer at Charles I. for reading Shakespeare: "I shall not instance an abstruse author, wherein the king might be less conversant, but one whom we well know was the closest companion of these his solitudes, William Shakespeare," *P. W.* I. 326. If not intended to be a taunt this was probably regarded as such by Milton's Puritan readers, and an admirer of Shakespeare would scarcely have cared to write it. Further *S. A.* is plain proof that Milton's theory of tragedy was not Shakespeare's, the *Preface* being a distinct condemnation of plays like *Hamlet* and *Lear*. The passages in which Milton can be held to have borrowed from Shakespeare's tragedies are very rare. He tells the story of King Lear at considerable length in his *History of Britain*, *P. W.* v. 175—178; but there is no mention of the play. It is therefore a tenable view that Milton's appreciation of Shakespeare was limited; probably it did not grow with his Puritanism.

Fancy = imagination in a wider sense than it now bears.

134. *Woodnotes wild*, as of some songbird. Cf. Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 102, "wild music burthens every bough." Crashaw speaks of a nightingale's "quick volumes of wild notes," *Musicks Duell*.

135—150. A vivid contrast to *Il Pen.* 161—166, where the description suggests music of a precisely opposite type.

135. *Eating cares* = Horace's *mordaces sollicitudines*, *Odes*, I. 18. 4. Cf. the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 45, 46, *quis me lenire docebit Mordaces curas*. Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* II. 681.

136. *Lydian airs* = music of a soft, effeminate type. Spenser in his *Present State of Ireland* says: "Therefore it is written by Aristotle, that when Cyrus had overcome the Lydians that were a warlicke nation, and devised to bring them to a more peaceable life, he chaunged theyr apparell and musick,...and insteede of theyr warlick musick, appoynted to them certayne lascivious layes, and loose gigges, by which in shorte space theyr myndes were so mollyfyed and abated that they forgate theyr former fierceness, and became most tender and effeminate." Cf.

also the *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal. October*. Dryden has the same allusion in *Alexander's Feast*, 79, 80:

"Softly sweet, in Lydian measures,
Soon he sooth'd his soul to pleasures;"

and Collins in the *Ode to Liberty*. Cf. too one of Keats' early Sonnets, "fireside joys and Lydian airs." In addition to the Phrygian and Lydian styles of music the Greeks practised the solemn 'Dorian mode.' See *P. L.* I. 550—559, and cf. the *Areopagitica*, "no music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and doric," *P. W.* II. 73.

137. *Married*, i.e. closely united to. Cf. Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 8:

"If the true concord of well-tuned sounds,
By unions married, do offend thine ear;"

and Crashaw (Grosart, I. 201):

"Apollo's breath...which marryed to his lyre
Doth tune the spheares."

The Cambridge poet and musician, Thomas Campion, writes in the preface to his *Two Bookes of Ayres* (Bullen's ed. p. 45), "in these English airs, I have chiefly aimed to couple my words and notes lovingly together." Compare Milton's sonnet in praise of his friend Henry Lawes who 'married' the verse of *Comus* to music.

139. *Bout*=bend, involution; used here metaphorically of a 'passage' in music. Akin to the verb *bow*=A. S. *búgan*, to bend (see note on *buxom*, l. 24), and Germ. *bucht*, a bay. Formerly spelt *bought;* afterwards (16—17th cent.), *bout*, through weakening of the guttural. It was generally used of the bend or loop of a rope, or string, or chain. The *New E. D.* quotes from Banister's *Chyrurg.* 1575, "let it be tyed first with ij inuolutions or bowtes;" also Cotgrave, "Pli: A plait, fold, lay; bought, wrinkle." Spenser has it of the coils of a serpent's tail, "in knots and many boughtes upwound," *F. Q.* I. 1. 15. Identical with the fencing-term *bout*=a pass; *Hamlet*, IV. 7. 159.

140. Cf. Milton's note on *The Verse* of *P. L.*, "true musical delight...consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the verse variously drawn out (i.e. extended) from one verse into another."

141. The figure of speech called oxymoron, in which exactly antithetic words are brought into close combination. A good instance occurs in the *Vacation Exercise*, 51—52:

"Held, with his melodious harmony,
In willing chains and sweet captivity."

Cf. Cowley, "it remains to be considered by what means we are most

likely to attain the ends of this vertuous covetousness," *Essays*, p. 3. The oft-quoted line in *The Idylls of the King*—"and faith unfaithful kept him falsely true"—is an extreme instance.

Cunning, i.e. skill, art, in a good sense.

143—144. Warton explains: "Milton's meaning is, that as the voice of the singer runs through the manifold mazes or intricacies of sound, all the chains are untwisted which imprison and entangle the hidden soul, the essence or perfection of harmony. In common sense, let music be made to show all, even her most hidden powers." Milton, in fact, has personified harmony: she is a divine power whose essential being (soul) is held in bondage until the singer's voice has penetrated to her prison and released her. For the same treatment of music as an abstract personification cf. *P. L.* v. 625—627:

"And in their motions harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones that God's own ear
Listens delighted."

Crashaw (*Musicks Duell*) speaks of the "precious mysteries that dwell In Music's ravished soul."

145. *Orpheus' self.* Cf. "Wisdom's self" in *Com.* 375. *Self*, Germ. *selbe*, began by being an adjective = 'same.' In Shakespeare it sometimes = 'self-same;' cf. *Twelfth Night*, I. 1. 39, where the later folios change "one self king" to "one selfsame king." Then *self* was used to strengthen the reflexive pronoun; finally it became a noun. The idiom of our text was not uncommon; cf. *Coriolanus*, II. 2. 98, "Tarquin's self he met, And struck him."

Heave, i.e. lift. Cf. *Com.* 885, "rise, rise, and heave thy rosy head." The phrase is repeated in *P. L.* I. 211, and *S. A.* 197; and borrowed by Dryden in the *Song for St Cecilia's Day:*

"When Nature underneath a heap
Of jarring atoms lay,
And could not heave her head."

147. Cf. *P. L.* III. 359, and Shelley's *Prometheus*, II. 4:

"folded Elysian flowers,
Nepenthe, Moly, Amaranth, fadeless blooms."

150. *Half-regained*, because Orpheus broke the terms on which she was released. The story of how he descended to Hades and recovered his wife on condition that he did not see her till they were in the upper world, is the subject of a beautiful episode in the fourth *Georgic*. Cf. *Il Pen.* 105—108.

151—152. See *Introduction.*

IL PENSEROSO.

The Title. Mr Mark Pattison in his *Life* of Milton says, "There is no such word as 'Penseroso,' the adjective formed from 'Pensiero' being 'pensieroso.' Even had the word been written correctly, its signification is not that which Milton intended, viz. thoughtful or contemplative, but anxious, full of cares, carking," p. 23, 24. Dr Garnett repeats the criticism, *Life*, p. 22. As a matter of fact the critics are wrong on both points, through forgetting the difference between modern and earlier Italian. *Penseroso* was a current form when Milton wrote, and it meant what he intended it to mean, viz. musing, meditative. The point was settled decisively by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, who quoted (*Seventh Series*, vol. VIII. p. 326) from a French-Italian *Dict.* published at Geneva in 1644: "*Pensif*, penseroso, che pensa. *Pourquoy estes-vous si pensif*, perche state voi cosi penseroso? *Il est tout pensif*, Egli è tutto penseroso." Dr Skeat referred in the same volume, p. 394, to Florio's *Dict.* (1598), where *pensoso* is rendered "pensive, carefull, musing, full of care or thoughts." Florio gives as alternative forms of the adjective *pensieroso* and *pensoroso*. It would have been curious if a careful scholar like Milton had blundered over such a simple matter as the choice of a title for his own poem. Whether his knowledge of Italian was so thorough as to enable him to compose correctly in that language we cannot say. His Italian sonnets were subjected to severe criticism by Sir Antonio Panizzi and Mr G. Rossetti (the father of the poet); see Keightley's edition vol. I. pp. 149—154, but it is quite possible that they, like Mr Mark Pattison, did not allow for the changes in Italian idiom and forms. In one of his *Epistolæ Familiares* Milton (writing to an Italian) speaks modestly of his knowledge: "On this occasion I have employed the Latin rather than your own language, that I might in Latin confess my imperfect acquaintance with that language which I wish you by your precepts to embellish and adorn," *P. W.* III. 498. This was in 1638; after his return from Italy he seemed to think it a simple matter to acquire Italian: "And either now, or before this, they may have easily learned, at any odd hour, the Italian tongue," *Tractate on Education*, *P. W.* III. 472.

1—4. The opening was clearly modelled on some lines in Sylvester's *Tragedie of Henry the Great*, which begins thus:

"Hence, hence, false Pleasures, momentary Joyes:
Mock us no more with your illuding Toyes,
.....all World's-hopes as dreams do flye."

2. *Brood of Folly.* Cf. Jonson's Masque of *Love Freed from Folly*:

"Gentle Love, be not dismayed.
See the Muses pure and holy,
By their priests have sent thee aid
Against this brood of Folly;"

or Shelley's *Ode to Liberty*, "Destruction's sceptred slaves, and Folly's mitred brood." *Brood* is almost always depreciatory: "where could there be found...a baser brood of flattering and time-serving priests?" *Animadversions*, *P. W.* III. 80. See *Nat. Ode*, 68.

3. *Bested*, i.e. help. Cf. Sylvester (Grosart, I. 205): "Who flies or follows, he alike besteads." Shakespeare uses the simple verb *stead* in this sense, e.g. in *Merchant of Venice*, I. 3. 7, "may you stead me?" Usually *bested* occurs as a participle, meaning 'situate,' 'placed,' whether in a good or bad position. Cf. 2 *Hen. VI.* II. 3. 56, "I never saw a fellow worse bested," i.e. in a worse plight. The *Promptorium* has "Bestad, or wythholden yn wele or wo...*Detentus*."

4. *Toys.* 'Trifles.' A very common meaning in Shakespeare; cf. *Lucrece* 214, "Or sells eternity to get a toy." For derivation cf. German *zeug*='stuff,' 'trash;' e.g. *spielzeug*='playthings.'

6. *Fond*, i.e. foolish, its original, and in Shakespeare commonest, meaning; "a very foolish, fond old man," *Lear*, IV. 7. 60. Middle E. *fon*='a fool,' and *fond*='made like a fool;' i.e. it is the p. p. of *fonnen* and the *d* represents the participial termination.

8—9. A vivid description of Sleep personified in Sylvester's *Du Bartas* must have been present to Milton both here and later in the poem, 146—150. With l. 8 cf. "The unnumbered Moats which in the sun do play:" with l. 9 cf. "fantastick swarms of Dreams there hovered"—Grosart's *Sylvester*, I. 169.

8. *Mote*=a particle of dust; cf. Ball's *Life of Preston*, p. 61, "The howse of Comons was the only mote in King James his eye." Cf. *St Matt.* vii. 5, *Luke* vi. 41, 42. Often in Shakespeare spelt *moth*, e.g. in quartos 2, 3, 4, *Hamlet*, I. 1. 112; so (in the reading of the first folio) *Midsummer N. D.* v. 306, and *Love's L. L.* IV. 3. 161. Cf. Florio, "Festucco, a little sticke...a moth, a little beame."

10. *Pensioners*, i.e. attendants, as in *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 10. Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had a body-guard of 'Pensioners' like our 'Queen's Gentlemen-at-arms.' Cf. *Merry Wives*, II. 2. 79, where Mrs

Quickly says that among the suitors of Mrs Ford have been "earls, nay, which is more, pensioners." Tyrwhitt in his note there quoted from Gervase Holles's Life of the First Earl of Clare: "I have heard the Earl of Clare say, that when he was pensioner to the Queen, he did not know a worse man of the whole band than himself: and that all the world knew he had then an inheritance of £4000 a year." Milton uses *pensionary* with the same sense in *The Reason of Church Government:* "here were his spearmen and his lances, here were his firelocks ready, he should need no other pretorian band nor pensionary than these," *P. W.* II. 502. From F. *pension*, Lat. *pensio*, a payment.

14. *Hit*, i.e. suit, agree with. Cf. perhaps *Macbeth*, III. 6. 1, 2:

"My former speeches have but hit your thoughts,
Which can interpret further."

16. Cf. *Love's L. L.* I. 1. 233, "besieged with sable-coloured melancholy," a description which Milton may have recollected when he wrote l. 35. Cf. Gray's *Hymn to Adversity:*

"Wisdom in sable garb arrayed,
Immersed in rapturous thought profound."

Milton is fond of this symbolism by colour; cf. *Com.* 213.

17. i.e. such as in men's opinion might befit.

18. Memnon, a prince of the Ethiopians, was famous for his beauty. Odysseus (*Od.* XI. 552) describes Eurypylus as the handsomest man he had ever seen, Memnon excepted: κεῖνον δὴ κάλλιστον ἴδον μετὰ Μέμνονα δῖον. Milton argues that if Memnon was beautiful, his sister (but we are not told that he had any) must have been equally, or even more, so.

19. The "Ethiop Queen" is Cassiopea (or Cassiepea), wife of Cepheus, the Æthiopian king, and mother of Andromeda. According to the commoner version of the legend "she boasted that the beauty of her daughter surpassed that of the Nereids, who prevailed on Poseidon to visit the country by an inundation, and a sea-monster" (*Class. Dict.*); Andromeda was given up to the monster but rescued by Perseus, Cassiopea being placed among the stars. Milton makes Cassiopea boast about herself. It is said that Apollonius the Grammarian told the story in this way. She is taken as a type of beauty in the *Eclogues* of Mantuan, the Carmelite; see Turberville's translation, reprinted by Professor Arber, p. 76. In Shakespeare's time *Ethiop* as applied to a woman was a term of depreciation, dark complexions being in disfavour because queen Elizabeth was fair. See *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 257 ("Away, you Ethiop!") and *Much Ado*, v. 4. 38.

Starred, i.e. changed into a star; a more natural sense would be 'set

with stars,' as Ben Jonson uses it in *Pan's Anniversary*, "starred with yellow-golds." So Tennyson in the lines on Milton, "Starr'd from Jehovah's gorgeous armouries."

23—30. Milton constructs a genealogy for Melancholy as previously for Mirth, *L'Al.* 14—24. Perhaps he wishes to imply that she is the offspring of Purity and Solitude, the goddess Vesta being regarded as chaste like her symbol, the fire kept up by the Vestal Virgins.

24. Saturn was regarded as a type of melancholy and ill-humour. Chaucer calls him "Saturnus the colde," and makes him claim the power to inflict fatal accidents; see the *Knightes Tale*, 1585, and ll. 1598—1611. According to the old astrology men "born under Saturn" (*Much Ado*, I. 3. 12) were likely to be morose; cf. our word *saturnine*.

25. The Greek Hestia (=Vesta in Roman mythology) was the daughter of Cronus with whom Saturn was identified.

28. *Secret*. See *Nat. Ode*, 28.

29—30. Not the 'many-fountained' mountain range of Mysia in Asia Minor, but the Cretan Mt Ida where Jove was brought up. Cf. the very similar lines in *P. L.* x. 584, "thence by Saturn driven And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born." *Dictæan*=Cretan, Dicte being another mountain in Crete; evidently Milton connected Saturn with that island, both here and in *P. L.*

31—36. Cf. the invocation in Tennyson's *Ode to Memory*, one of the early poems in which Milton's influence is very apparent.

32. Imitated by Keats in *Endymion* I, "And come instead demurest meditation." Cf. *S. A.* 1036. *Demure*=O.F. *de murs*, i.e. of (good) manners; *murs* (mod. F. *mœurs*)=Lat. *mores*. Cf. *debonaire* in *L'Al.* 24. For *stedfast* see *Nat. Ode*, III, note.

33. *Grain*, i.e. hue, and probably the colour intended was dark purple. *Grain* is derived from O.F. *graine*, Lat. *granum*, the Low Latin equivalent for the classical word *coccum*. Properly *coccum* meant a 'berry;' but it was specially used of the cochineal insect found upon the scarlet oak in Spain and other Mediterranean countries; this insect being, from its shape, supposed to be a berry. From the cochineal insect a certain dye was made, called *coccum;* whence *coccinus*='red.' In Low Latin *granum* took the place of *coccum;* cf. Forcellini, *Fructus quoque cocci, quo panni tinguntur*, granum *dicitur*. Strictly, therefore, *grain* signified a *scarlet* dye such as could be extracted from this cochineal insect. Cf. Cotgrave: "Graine: the seed of herbs, also grain wherewith cloth is dyed in grain, scarlet die." But Cotgrave also has "Migraine. Scarlet, or *purple* in grain," and it seems as though the word had lost

something of its original sense, and could be applied to deep shades of blue or purple. This suits two out of the three other passages where Milton uses it. Thus in *P. L.* v. 285, the wings of Raphael are "sky-tinctured grain," i.e. "a cerulean or violet purple, as if dipped in the colours of the sky" (Masson). Again in *P. L.* xi. 242—3, the archangel bore:

> "A military vest of *purple*...
> Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
> Of Sarra."

Sarra was the old name for Tyre, so that "grain of Sarra"='Tyrian purple;' cf. *Sarrano dormiat ostro*, *Georgic* II. 506. In *Com.* 750, *grain* appears to bear its earlier notion 'scarlet.'

35. As pointed out in the note on *sable-stoled*, *Nat. Ode*, 220, *stole* usually signified a long, flowing robe; but it could also mean a hood or veil (cf. Spenser, *F.Q.* I. i. 4), and probably does so here. For Milton has already mentioned the robe "with majestic train," while we can infer from several passages that veils were often made of *cyprus*. Cf. Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victorie in Heaven*, 59:

> "About her head a cyprus heav'n she wore,
> Spread like a veil;"

and Vaughan's *Silex Scintillans* (Grosart's ed. I. 271):

> "They are but veils and cypres drawn,
> Like clouds, before the glorious dawn."

Cyprus lawn=black crape or gauze; generally *cyprus* and *lawn* are distinguished; cf. *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 220—221:

> "Lawn as white as driven snow;
> Cyprus black as e'er was crow."

Ben Jonson draws the same distinction in *Every Man in His Humour*, I. 3, and in his *Epigrams* (73). Cotgrave, however, like Milton, seems to identify the materials: "Crespe. Cipress; also Cobweb Lawne;" and probably they were much the same. In his note on *Twelfth Night*, III. 1. 132, Mr Aldis Wright shewed that *cyprus* derived its name from the island Cyprus whence it was first introduced into England; cf. *cambric* from *Cambray*, *calico* from *Calicut*, *cashmere*, etc. The spelling was irregular; Milton's editions, 1645 and 1673, read *Cipres;* editors of Shakespeare vary between *cypress* and *cyprus*.

Milton uses the word *lawn* in his prose writings of the lawn-sleeves worn by bishops: cf. the tract *Of Reformation in England*, "laugh to see them (i.e. the prelates) under sail in all their lawn and sarcenet, their shrouds and tackle," *P. W.* II. 416; and *The Reason of Church*

Government: "That undeflowered and unblemishable simplicity of the Gospel, not she herself...but a lawny resemblance of her, made by the sorcery of prelates."—II. 500.

36. *Decent*, i.e. "comely, handsome," Minsheu (1617); the Latin *decens*, as in Horace s *decentes malas*, *Odes* III. 27. 53. Cf. *P. L.* III. 644, and Cowper's rendering of the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 122:

"Else had I grasped thy feeble hand, composed
Thy decent limbs;"

a reminiscence of Pope's *Elegy to the Memory of an Unfortunate Lady:*

"By foreign hands thy dying eyes were clos'd,
By foreign hands thy decent limbs compos'd."

37. *State*, i.e. dignity.

39. Imitated by Collins in *The Passions:*

"With eyes upraised, as one inspired,
Pale Melancholy sat retired;"

the second verse being an echo of *Midsummer N. D.* I. 1. 14—15. Of course, the attitude is symbolical, expressive of the idea that inspiration comes from above. Cf. the picture of "Theosophia or Divine Wisdom" in one of Jonson's *Entertainments:* "her garments figured truth, innocence, and clearness: she was always looking up."

Commercing, i.e. holding intercourse; cf. Tennyson, *Walking to the Mail*, "Commercing with himself, He lost the sense that handles daily life." Often *commerce*, the noun, = *commercium*, i.e. intercourse; cf. *Twelfth Night*, III. 4. 191, or Cowley's essay *Of Obscurity*, "lives in the conversation of two or three agreeable friends, with little commerce in the world besides," *Essays*, p. 94. For the accent cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, III. 3. 205, "all the commérce that you have had with Troy."

40. *Rapt*. More correctly written *rapped*, since it is the past part. of the Teutonic word *rap* = to seize hastily, snatch; cf. *Cymbeline*, I. 6. 50—51, "what...thus raps you?" i.e. what transports you? In O. E. there is the phrase *rape and renne*, "to seize and plunder." The spelling *rapt* is due to confusion with Latin *raptus*; cf. *P. L.* III. 522. Another incorrect form is *wrapt* = enraptured. Cf. the *Hesperides*, "then think how wrapt I was to see," (Grosart, I. 23); and Shelley's *Prometheus*, III. 3, "Painting, Sculpture and wrapt Poesy." This arose from a custom that grew up in the XVIth cent. of putting *w* before words beginning with *r* or *h*. Ralegh's contemporaries now and then wrote the name *Wrawly* (Earle, *Philology*, p. 159).

42. *To marble*, i.e. till thou seemest like a marble statue. Milton had used the idea previously in the *Epitaph* on Shakespeare:

"Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
Dost make us marble with too much conceiving."

Cf. Pope's *Elöisa*, 24, "I have not yet forgot myself to stone."

43—44. Cf. Sylvester's *Du Bartas* (Grosart, I. 155):

"That sallow-fac't, sad, stooping *Nymph*, whose eye
Still on the ground is fixèd stedfastly."

Gray (*Hymn to Adversity*) again followed Milton very closely.

43. *Sad*, i.e. serious, without exactly the notion of sorrow; cf. "sad votarist" in *Com.* 189. The original sense was 'sated,' A.S. *sæd* being akin to Lat. *satis*. Then the idea 'satisfied' passed to that of "serious, firm, sober, discreet, grave" (*Mayhew and Skeat*, s. v.). Cf. the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, "What was all in him (i.e. Christ), was divided among many others, the teachers of his church; some to be severe and ever of a sad gravity," *P. W.* III. 129; and the *Hist. of Brit.*, "this story, though seeming otherwise too light in the midst of a sad narration."—*P. W.* v. 387. *Leaden* = gloomy, cf. *Othello*, III. 4. 177.

45. Ben Jonson has a picture of "Esychia, or Quiet, the first handmaid of Peace," in *King James's Entertainment.*

46—48. The lines are an allegorical way of stating that only the poet whose life is abstinent can attain to the highest type of poetry. He puts the same idea (Masson calls it "perhaps pre-eminently *the* Miltonic idea") more fully and clearly in the sixth *Elegy*, where he says that the writer who deals with trivial, erotic themes may lead a life of ease and pleasure; but he who handles grave matters, and would rival Homer, let him be self-denying and ascetic—*ille quidem parce vivat.*

48. Cf. *Lyc.* 15, 16, note. The 'altar of Jove' is that of which Hesiod speaks at the beginning of his *Theogony:* "the Muses haunt the hill of Helicon, mighty and divine, and dance with tender feet around the fountain (i.e. Aganippe) and the altar of the great son of Kronion." In most legends the Muses are the daughters of Zeus.

50. Milton's conception of the ideal garden was probably less magnificent than that of Bacon who writes: "For *Gardens*...the Contents, ought not well to be under *Thirty Acres of Ground*," *Essays*, p. 189 (*Golden Treas.* ed.). Cowley confessed that his chief desire had always been to "be master at last of a small house and large garden... and there dedicate the remainder of life only to the culture of them, and study of nature," *Essays*, p. 120.

52—55. The imagery of the passage was suggested by Ezekiel's vision of the throne-chariot composed of Cherubic forms; see

Ezekiel x, also chap. i. The original had evidently impressed Milton very deeply; he refers to it in the *Death of a Fair Infant*, 36—40, in *P. L.* VI. 749—759, and in one of the finest pieces of the *Apology for Smectymnuus*—the description of the chariot of Zeal—*P. W.* III. 129. There is, perhaps, no portion of Scripture to which Milton alludes more frequently in his prose-works than the book of *Ezekiel*.

52. *Golden wing.* Milton is fond of this idea. Cf. *Com.* 214, and the compound *golden-winged* in the *Death of a Fair Infant*, 57, previously applied by Sylvester to Sleep (Grosart, I. 143). It afterwards became a conventional description, used by Milton's imitators merely because he had used it; cf. Pope's *Temple of Fame*, 7, 8.

54. It is well to remember two things: (i) *Cherub*, used by Milton and scholars of that time as the singular of *Cherubim*, means a single member of the Cherubim, i.e. it has nothing to do with the sense which *cherub* bears in modern E. (ii) When Milton applies to the Cherub the title *Contemplation* (Newton contrasts the picture in the *Faerie Q.* I. x. 46), he is referring to the mediæval conception of the Hierarchies already mentioned in the note on *Nat. Ode*, III. According to it each of the Orders or Choirs into which the heavenly beings were divided had a special power, and the faculty peculiar to the Cherubim was that of "Knowledge and *Contemplation* of divine things." In the words of the treatise attributed to Dionysius, they were celebrated διὰ τὸ θεοπτικὸν αὐτῶν καὶ θεωρητικόν. We now see the significance of the name *Contemplation* in this verse: Milton took the mediæval belief and grafted it on to the narrative of Ezekiel. See *Notes and Q.* VIIth series, II. 323, where this explanation was, I think, first given; and for a similar allusion cf. Thomas Watson's *Melibœus:* "where flowes the knowledge of wise *Cherubins*," the original Latin being *plus sapiunt Cherubin.* See Arber's ed. pp. 168, 169. The writer in *N. and Q.* suggests that Shakespeare may be hinting at the same belief when he invests the Cherubim in *Macbeth*, I. 7. 22, 24, with the power of sight; so in *Hamlet*, IV. 3. 50, *Troilus*, III. 2. 74.

55. *Hist.* Probably an imperative (cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. 1. 159), answering to *bring* in l. 51. It seems to mean 'bring the mute Silence with you,' Silence (personified as in *Com.* 557, 558 and *P. L.* IV. 604) being the accus. after *hist.* Or we might interpret it, 'move stealthily through (*along*) the silence.' For *hist*, see *Nat. Ode*, 64.

56. Shakespeare uses *Philomel* = a nightingale, instead of *Philomela;* cf. *Midsummer N. D.* II. 2. 13. So *The Two Kinsmen*, V. 3. 123—24 "I have heard Two emulous Philomels beat the ear o' the night."

Deign, i.e. grant. "Daigner. To deigne, vouchsafe, thinke worthy of," Cotgrave. So *disdain* = refuse in *P. R.* I. 492, "disdain not such access to me." O. F. *deigner* = L. *dignari*.

58. Cf. Shakespeare's "black-brow'd night" in *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 2. 20, and *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 387; or *King John*, V. 6. 17 ("in the black brow of night"). "Smooth the rugged'st brow" occurs in *P. R.* II. 164. *Rugged* = wrinkled.

59—60. i.e. the Moon (*Cynthia*) stops in her course to listen.

59. Strictly, it was only to Demeter, i.e. Ceres, that mythology assigned a chariot yoked with dragons. Milton probably remembered *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 379, "night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast," and transferred the description to the Moon. He has the same picture in the Latin poem *In Obitum Præsulis Eliensis*, 56—58:

deam
Vidi triformem, dum coercebat suos
Frænis dracones aureis.

Newton notes that dragons (i.e. serpents) are chosen in allusion to their proverbial watchfulness and sharpness of sight. See *Cymbeline*, II. 2. 48, or *Com.* 131 (note).

60. *Accustomed.* As though Milton were thinking of some special tree in the garden at Horton. Cf. the *Epitaphium Damonis* where he says (15) that he only felt the loss of Diodati when he had returned from Italy, *assueta seditque sub ulmo.*

62—64. So Vergil, *G.* IV. 513—15:

Illa
Flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
Integrat.

Milton studied the habits of the nightingale. Cf. *Com.* 234—235, *P. L.* III. 38—40.

65. Contrast *L'Al.* 57.

66. Bacon, being of opinion that "nothing is more pleasing to the eye" than grass "kept finely shorne," recommended that every garden should contain a lawn of four acres (*Essays*, no. XLVI.).

67. Cf. *Midsummer N. D.* IV. 1. 103, "swifter than the wandering moon." Vergil uses *errans* of the moon (*Æneid*, I. 742).

68. i.e. at her highest point of ascension (Hales).

71—72. See the note on *L'Al.* 61, and cf. *Com.* 331, 333: "fair moon,...Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud." Cf. "fleecy star" in *P. L.* III. 558.

73. *Plat*, i.e. *plot*, 'a small piece of ground.' Not a very common

form, but cf. Crashaw, *Musicks Duell*, "hard by the streams Of Tiber, on the sceane of a green plat;" and Tennyson, *The Blackbird*, "I keep smooth plats of fruitful ground." See *P. L.* IX. 456.

74—76. If we are to identify the description with any special scene, we may suppose that Milton was thinking of the Thames (see *L'Al.* 76) which flows not far from Horton. The curfew would be that of some village church, and *shore* was often applied to the banks of a river; cf. *King John*, II. 443, "two such shores to two such streams made one;" or *Julius Cæsar*, I. 1. 52, 65. *Water*=lake or river is common in old writers. Professor Hales notes that Tennyson revived the use of the word in the *Morte D'Arthur;* cf. also *The Passing of Arthur:*

"He saw the speck that bare the king
Down that long water opening on the deep."

Wide-watered shore, therefore, might easily be said of a broad expanse of river, with its fringe of bank. Some editors have thought that Oxford was meant. Cambridge can scarcely put in a claim: difficulty might arise over *wide* as an epithet of the Cam. Masson says, why should not the sea be intended?

74. Cf. "at curfew time," *Com.* 435. The usual hour for the ringing of the curfew was eight o'clock; but Way in his ed. of the *Promptorium* (p. 110) shows that the practice varied. Nine o'clock (still the time at which the bell of Great St Mary's Church, Cambridge, sounds) was not an uncommon hour in England during the summer, and in Scotland it was the regular hour for a long period. The custom was not confined to England: it "prevailed, at the time of the Conquest, in France, and probably in all the countries of Europe, and was intended merely as a precaution against fires, at a time when cities were constructed chiefly of wood" (Way). Shakespeare in one passage, *Romeo and Juliet*, IV. 4. 4, applies *curfew* to the bell rung in the morning when the *angelus* was recited, the explanation being that at some churches and religious houses the same bell was used at daybreak and evening.

Etymologically *curfew=couvre-feu*, O. F. *covre-feu*, i.e. time for putting out the fire, *couvrir* from *co-operire* and *feu* from *focus*. Rendered by *ignitegium* in the *Promptorium* and the *Catholicon Anglicum* (1483); elsewhere by *pyritegium*. *Curfew* is a good instance of two syllables, *couvre*, blending into one, *cur*, by syncope. This is due to stress of accent; it occurs often in compound words; cf. *kerchief*.

78. *Fit*, i.e. suit.

80. i.e. the light of the fire is so soft as to be a kind of darkness.

81. *Resort*, i.e. visits; used actively, as in *Hamlet*, II. 2. 143, "that

she should lock herself from his resort," i.e. from Hamlet's visits. In modern E. *resort* is usually passive, = a place to which people go. In *Com.* 379 it seems to mean 'society,' "the various bustle of resort."

83—84. The bellman corresponded to the linkman of the last century. Cotgrave defines his main duty: "Resveilleur. An awaker; and particularly, a common Bellman, which in the dead of night goes round about a City, tinkling, and telling of the houres." What the 'drowsy charms' would be we may gather from Herrick's poem in the *Hesperides* (Grosart, II. 28), where the speaker is a bellman:

"From noise of Scare-fires rest ye free,
From Murders Benedicitie.
From all mischances, that may fright
Your pleasing slumbers in the night:
Mercie secure ye all, and keep
The Goblin from ye, while ye sleep.
Past one aclock, and almost two,
My Masters all, *Good day to you.*"

Cf. too Herrick's *Noble Numbers* (II. 174), and his *Golden Apples* (II. 102). Another duty of the bellman was to report on the weather; cf. Pepys, Jan. 16, 1659—1660: "I staid up till the bellman came by with his bell just under my window as I was writing of this very line, and cried, 'Past one of the clock, and a cold, frosty, windy morning'"—(one of the many vivid strokes which make the *Diary* so graphic). *The Bellman of London* was the title of one of Dekker's pamphlets of 'low life.'

84. Cf. Chaucer, *The Milleres Tale*, 297—98:

"Lord Jhesu Crist, and seynte Benedight,
Blesse this hous from every wikkede wight."

Nightly = during the night; see *Nat. Ode*, 179.

85. Here he passes to what we may conceive to be the main pleasure in the life of *Il Penseroso*, viz. study of literature. The literature is of four types: i. philosophy, 88—96: ii. the tragic drama, 97—102; iii. lyric poetry, 103—108; iv. romance, 109—120. This section of the poem is considerably longer than the parallel one in *L'Al.* 117—134. Also it is probable that L'Allegro was to see tournaments and plays rather than read about them. Cf. the note on *L'Al.* 118.

85—88. The sense is 'May I study through the night the works of Hermes Trismegistus.' Cf. Milton's *De Idea Platonica*, 32—33:

Non ille trino gloriosus nomine
Ter magnus Hermes, ut sit arcani sciens.

The Greeks identified Hermes with the Egyptian deity Thoth, or Theut.

This Egyptian god was supposed to be the introducer of culture into Egypt, the patron of writing and arts and sciences, including magic and alchemy. Cf. Sir Thomas Browne: "wherein they (the people of Egypt) worshipped...Mercurius (i.e. Hermes), the scribe of Saturn, and counsellor of Osyris, the great inventor of their religious rites, and promoter of good into Egypt," *Vulgar Errors*, bk. IV. chap. XIII. To the Egyptian Hermes were attributed forty-two so-called Hermetic books, really composed by the Neo-Platonists of Alexandria in the fourth cent. A.D. Fragments of the Greek and Latin texts of these books (of which the *Pœmander* was the most celebrated) are scattered through the works of Lactantius, Stobæus and Suidas. In mediæval times Hermes Trismegistus became the patron-deity of students of magic and the 'black arts.' Ben Jonson in the *Fortunate Isles* makes the scholar ask the wizard to call up the shades of divers philosophers:

"*J.* Think but any other in meantime,
Any hard name.
M. (*the scholar*) Then Hermes Trismegistus.
J. O, ὁ τρισμέγιστος! why, you shall see him,
A fine hard name!"

Cf. also Jonson's Masque, *Neptune's Triumph*.

87. Keightley remarked that this involves sitting up all night, as the Bear never sets; cf. Vergil, *Arctos oceani metuentes æquore tingi*.

88—96. i.e. call down the soul of Plato from the sphere it inhabits to tell whither the souls of men go after death, or (93—96) what is the nature of the spirits "that are found in fire etc." In other words, Il Penseroso will study the *Timæus* and *Phædo* and other writings of Plato. The imagery is drawn from Milton's belief in the "Spheres" of the Universe; see *Nat. Ode*, 125. The souls of the great dead, he implies, must dwell in some one of these spheres; cf. *Com.* 2—4:

"where those immortal shapes
Of bright aerial spirits live insphered
In regions mild of calm and serene air;"

and Drayton, "I will insphere her in regions high and starry." So Shelley in the *Adonais* (XLVI.) represents the soul of Keats ascending upward and being welcomed by his brother-poets:

"'Thou art become as one of us,' they cry;
'It was for thee yon kingless sphere has long
Swung blind in unascended majesty,
Silent alone amid a Heaven of song.'"

Milton's lines may have been in Wordsworth's memory when he wrote

"Nor less the homage that was seen to wait
On Dion's virtues when the lunar beam
Of Plato's genius, from its lofty sphere,
Fell round him in the grove of Academe."

88. *Unsphere.* Cf. Hartley Coleridge's *Stanzas* ("She was a queen"): "like a spectre of an age departed, Or unsphered Angel woefully astray." So *unthrone*, *P. L.* II. 231.

89. Milton reveals his own admiration of Plato in many passages of the prose-works; see the frequent references in the *Tractate on Education.* In the *Apology for Smectymnuus* Plato is mentioned with Sir Thomas More and Bacon as among "the greatest and sublimest wits in sundry ages," *P. W.* III. p. 108, although Xenophon is his equal, p. 119.

93. We must understand *to tell of*, or some such expression, from *to unfold* in l. 89.

Those dæmons, i.e. Salamanders (spirits of fire), Sylphs (of air), Nymphs (of water), and Gnomes (of underground). Cf. *P. R.* II. 124, "Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath;" so *P. R.* IV. 201, and *Com.* 208—209, 436. If Milton accepted popular beliefs in this matter he found himself in the excellent company of Sir Thomas Browne; cf. the *Religio Medici*, Sect. XXX.: "It is a riddle to me, how...so many learned heads should so far forget their metaphysicks, and destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of spirits; for my part, I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches. They that doubt of these do not only deny them, but spirits; and are obliquely, and upon consequence, a sort, not of infidels, but atheists."

95. *Consent*, i.e. agreement, or sympathy with; cf. the verb in the *Animadversions*, "the just and adequate measure of truth,...whose every part consenting, and making up the harmonious symmetry...is able to set out to us a perfect man," *P. W.* III. 67. The word may have been influenced by *concent*=harmony, Lat. *concentus*, used in the Ode *At a Solemn Music*, 6; cf. the doubtful line in *Hen. V.* I. 2. 181.

96. *With planet.* Astrology was still believed in.

Element. Alluding to the belief (mediæval rather than Platonic) that all existing things consist of four *elements* or constituent parts, viz. fire, air, water, and earth. Cf. among several references in Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, V. 5. 73, and *Antony*, V. 2. 292. Milton will investigate with Plato's aid the connection (i.e. *consent*, l. 95) between these elements and the spirits which dwell in them. Perhaps the best commentary, certainly an amusing one, on the lines is a passage in the *Rape of the Lock*, I. 57—66:

"For when the Fair in all their pride expire,
To their first elements their souls retire.
The sprites of fiery termagants in flame
Mount up, and take a salamander's name.
Soft yielding minds to water glide away,
And sip, with nymphs, their elemental tea.
The graver prude sinks downward to a gnome,
In search of mischief still on earth to roam.
The light coquettes in sylphs aloft repair,
And sport and flutter in the fields of air."

97—102. This may be illustrated from the first *Elegy*, written in 1626. Milton describes his visits to the "well-trod stage" in London, and after sketching types of character drawn from comedy (the comedy of Terence rather than Shakespeare), passes to Tragedy:

Sive cruentatum furiosa Tragœdia sceptrum
Quassat, et effusis crinibus ora rotat;
Et dolet, et specto, juvat et spectasse dolendo;
Interdum et lacrymis dulcis amaror inest:
Seu puer infelix indelibata reliquit
Gaudia, et abrupto flendus amore cadit;
Seu ferus e tenebris iterat Styga criminis ultor,
Conscia funereo pectora torre movens;
Seu mœret Pelopeia domus, seu nobilis Ili,
Aut luit incestos aula Creontis avos.

The *puer infelix* might be Romeo, and the next couplet (*ferus ultor*) would apply to *Hamlet* or *Richard III.* v. 3. 118—176; in fact, there, as here in *Il Pen.* 102—3, Milton probably alludes to Shakespeare. The last lines (*Pelopeia domus*) anticipate ll. 99—100 of the present passage. Contrast *L'Al.* 131—134, where the reference is to comedy alone.

98. *Pall*=Latin *palla*, the mantle worn by tragic actors. In Elizabethan E. *pall* seems to have been generally applied to church-vestments; cf. Cotgrave, "Paille. A Bishop's pall." Milton in the tract *Of Reformation* complained that the prelates arrayed themselves "not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres," *P. W.* II. 365. See the *Shepheards Cal. Julye. Sceptred*=royal; cf. *Merchant of V.* IV. 1. 193.

99—100. An epitome of the main themes of Greek tragedy. Thebes is "presented" in the *Seven Against Thebes* of Æschylus, and the *Œdipus Rex* and *Antigone* of Sophocles. Of the line of Pelops were Thyestes and Atreus, and Agamemnon, with his children Orestes,

Iphigenia and Electra. The chief plays in which Il Penseroso could read their several stories would be the trilogy of the *Oresteia* by Æschylus, i.e. the *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroi* and *Eumenides;* the *Electra* of Sophocles and the *Electra* of Euripides (to which Milton refers in the sonnet *When the Assault*) and the two dramas of the *Iphigenia* by Euripides (Milton's favourite poet). The tale of Troy (the most popular with mediæval writers) might be followed in the *Hecuba* and *Troades*.

divine; "because built by the gods" (Newton).

101. We may hope that this alludes to Shakespeare. See the note on l. 97 *supra*. Ben Jonson too could claim to have ennobled the stage as a writer of tragedy. Clearly, however, Milton was out of sympathy with the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama: an admirer of it would not have called its masterpieces "rare" in the sense of few. Milton's classical taste prevented his liking its free, romantic style.

102. *Buskined*, i.e. tragic, see *L'Al.* 132. Fletcher writes in the *Purple Island*, I. 12:

> "Who has not seen upon the mourning stage
> Dire Atreus' feast and wrong'd Medea's rage;
> Marching in tragick state, and buskin'd equipage?"

So Browne in *Britannia's Pastorals*, II. 1:

> "Marot and Ronsard, Garnier's buskin'd Muse,
> Should spirit of life in very stones infuse;"

see Hazlitt's *Browne*, I. 192, 221, and cf. Gray, speaking of Shakespeare's tragedies, *The Bard*, III. 3.

103—108. i.e. 'would that we might recover the lost poems of Musæus and Orpheus.' In some legends Musæus is the son of Orpheus. Many compositions were ascribed to him, especially sacred hymns and oracles. Here he seems to represent lyric verse, as in Chapman's lines on Marlowe. Cf. Herrick, "There thou shalt hear Divine Musæus sing," Grosart, II. 174; and Wordsworth's *Sonnet on a Blank Leaf of Macpherson's Ossian:*

> "Musæus, stationed with his lyre,
> Supreme among the Elysian quire,
> Is, for the dwellers upon earth,
> Mute as a lark at morning's birth."

The name supplied Mason with the title of that Monody (1747) on Pope in which *Lycidas* is closely followed.

105—108. Imitated in West's *Monody on Queen Caroline:*

> "artful unimaginable strains,
> According sweetly to the lyre,

Such as might half inspire
The iron breast of Hades to resign
Our lost, lov'd Caroline."

109—115. Referring to Chaucer, whose *Squyeres Tale* is incomplete. This tale was of Eastern origin, a mixture, as Warton said, of Arabic learning and Gothic chivalry: hence the oriental names and the peculiar character of the incidents, most of which may be illustrated from Arabic literature. Probably the story was known to Chaucer through some Latin medium; but the details relative to the manifestation of magic were the common property of writers of popular tales throughout Europe. See Skeat's *Introduction* to *The Prioresses Tale*.

109. *Half told*. The story is continued in the *Faerie Queene*, bk. IV. cantos 2 (from stanza 31 onward) and 3. Spenser excused himself at the outset (st. 34) for his presumption in venturing to follow where Chaucer had gone before. He evidently thought (st. 33) that Chaucer had completed the *Tale*, and that the concluding portions had been lost. Tyrwhitt, however, was inclined to agree with Milton that the work was left unfinished by its author; see the *Introductory Discourse to the Canterbury Tales* in Morris' ed. I. 234. Masson pointed out that there was also a version of the *Squyeres Tale* by a certain John Lane, a friend of Milton's father, a MS. copy of which is now in the British Museum. Very likely Milton had seen it.

110. Warton in his nineteenth *Ode* (1787) says of Chaucer:

"In tones majestic hence he told
The banquet of Cambuscan bold;"

imitating Milton even in the accentuation of the name, *Cambúscan* instead of *Cambuscán*. The proper form of the name, at least as it is given in all seven MSS. of the *Squyeres Tale*, is *Cambynskan*. It is a corruption of Chingis or Gengis Khan, and means "Great Khan."

111. The sons of Cambynskan. *Cambal* is derived from *Cambaluc*, "city of the Khan," the capital built by Kublai Khan. A copy, says Dr Skeat, in the Bodleian of Marco Polo's *Travels* has the colophon: "Explicit le Livre nommé du Grant Caan de la Graunt Cité de Cambaluc." Cf. the reference in *P. L.* XI. 387—388. The *Squyeres Tale* has a second Cambalo, who is the lover of Canace; this may have been due to an error on the part of Chaucer or his copyist.

112. *Canace*, the daughter of Cambynskan. As a matter of fact, Chaucer makes it fairly clear that she was married to Cambalo, (the lover); cf. the close of the *Squyeres Tale:*

"And after wol I speken of Cambalo,
That faught in listes with the bretheren two,
For Canacee, er that he might hir wynne."

Spenser invents three brothers, Priamond, Dyamond, and Triamond; and weds Canace to the last.

To wife, i.e. as wife, cf. *S. A.* 227. A common idiom; cf. *Judges* xvii. 13, "the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite *to* my priest." Minsheu has "to take to wife *vide* to Marrie."

113. The ring enabled its owner to understand the language of birds and the medicinal properties of all herbs; see *The Squyeres Tale*, 138—157. Clouston says, "many Asiatic tales turn upon a knowledge of the language of birds and beasts," *Popular Tales* (1887), vol. I. p. 376. Cf. the story in the *Arabian Nights* of "The Page who feigned to know the Speech of Birds." In Spenser the ring has the power of staunching wounds, *F. Q.* IV. 2. 39.

The mirror revealed coming disasters, told "who is your friend or fo," and warned ladies if their lovers were unfaithful; *Squyeres Tale*, 124—137, where Chaucer's editors refer to the magic glass in Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, bk. v. Clouston compares (I. 376) the Ivory Tube in the *Arabian Nights* tale of "Prince Ahmed and the Perí Bánú," and Warton suggested that the legend arose out of the Arabic knowledge of optics. Cf. the myth of the beryl-stone and the "prospective-glasses" used by Dr Dee and mentioned in the *Vacation Exercise*, 71.

Virtuous, i.e. possessed of peculiar powers. Cf. *Com.* 621, "every virtuous plant," and l. 165, "the virtue of this magic dust."

114. See *The Squyeres Tale*, 107—123, and cf. the *Shepheards Cal. Julye*, "stoute as *steede* of *brasse*." The horse was "wondrous" in that it could bear its rider any distance he liked within the twenty-four hours; and could, if need were, fly through the air high as an eagle. This again, is an Arabic legend, due (says Warton) to Arabic study of chemistry and experiments with metals. It spread all over Europe, and there are many versions of it. One of the earliest is a French *Romaunt* in verse, entitled *Cléomades*, by a poet of the XIIIth cent., Adans or Adènis. The animal is identical with the "Cheval de Fust," with the "Magic Horse" of Don Quixote, and the "Cheval Enchanté" in Galland's translation of the *Arabian Nights*. The description in the latter corresponds very closely with that given by Chaucer; see Lady Burton's ed. III. 138. Burton believed that the Greek myth of Pegasus (borrowed from Egypt) was part of the same story. The horse is

sometimes made of brass (as in Chaucer, Spenser, and here), sometimes of wood—in the *Arabian Nights*, of ebony-wood.

Milton has omitted one detail in the equipment of the knight, viz. the magic sword, which cut through armour however thick, inflicting wounds that would not heal until stroked with the flat blade. See the *Squyeres Tale*, 148—159, and the *F. Q.* II. 8. 20.

115. *Tartar king*, i.e. Cambynskan.

116—120. No doubt, an allusion primarily to the *Faerie Queene*. Spenser influenced Milton more than did any previous poet; cf. the publisher's preface to the 1645 ed. of Milton's poems: "I shall" (says "the Stationer to the Reader") "deserve of the age by bringing into the light as true a birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous Spenser wrote; whose poems in these...are as rarely imitated as sweetly excelled." Cf. the reference to "our admired Spenser" in the *Animadversions* (*P. W.* III. 84, 85) where Milton quotes at some length from the *Shepheards Cal. Maye*. Spenser is the "*sage* and serious poet" of the *Areopagitica*, *P. W.* II. 68, where the *F. Q.* II. 7 is in Milton's thoughts. Cf. also the glance at the *F. Q.* V. 2, in *Eikonoklastes*, *P. W.* I. 346. Cowley in the essay *Of Myself* says that his first impulse to write verses came from reading Spenser. Milton's experience may have been similar. The "great bards" would also include Tasso and Ariosto.

118. *Turney*. "A martiall exercise of knights or souldiors, fighting one with another in disport" (Minsheu). Florio (1598) has "Torneare, to tilt, to torney, to just (i.e. joust), to fight at barriers." Cf. *S. A.* 1736.

119—120. Cf. *P. R.* II. 359—360, and the "adventurous glade" of *Com.* 79. Warton says: "Both Tasso and Ariosto pretend to an allegorical and mysterious meaning; and Tasso's *Enchanted Forest*, the most conspicuous fiction of the kind, may have been here intended." Cf. the reference in *Com.* 517 to Tasso's account of the Island of Armida.

121. Cf. *P. L.* I. 768. *Career* was specially applied to the course of the sun, or moon, or planets. Sylvester has it in this sense very often. O. F. *charriere*, is from Late Lat. *carraria*, i.e. *carraria via*.

122. *Civil-suited*, i.e. in sober dress; cf. "sobered morning came," *Endymion* III. (early). *Civil* was often used of apparel, in the sense 'not gay or showy.' The *New E. D.* quotes Fletcher, *Woman's Prize*, III. 3, "That fourteen yards of satin give my woman...I do not like the colour—'tis too civil;" and Dekker's *Seven Sinnes*, I. 13, "In words, is he circumspect,...in attire, ciuill." The verse is an imitation of *Romeo*

and Juliet, III. 2. 10—11, "Come, civil night, thou sober-suited matron." Milton seems to have borrowed from the same speech elsewhere; see *Com.* 373—375 and 554, and cf. ll. 58, 141 of this poem. Cf. Tennyson's *You Ask Me Why:*

"The land that freemen till,
That sober-suited Freedom chose."

Contrast *L'Al.* 60—63.

123. *Tricked*, i.e. decked, adorned. See *Lyc.* 170. *Trick* and *trim* often go together: cf. Cotgrave, "Parer: To deck, tricke, trimme, garnish, adorn," and Sylvester, "so brave a Gallant, trickt and trimmed so," Grosart, II. 191. Derived from Dutch *trek*=a trick=a neat contrivance: whence the idea 'neatness of appearance.'

Frounced, i.e. with hair curled and frizzled. Ascham describes an affected courtier as having "an ouerstaring frounced hed, as though out of euerie heeres toppe, should suddenlie start out a good big othe," *Scholemaster*, p. 105. Properly *frounce* means a wrinkle, from O.F. *froncer*=Late Lat. *frontiare;* in Du Cange *fronciatus*=*rugatus*. From the notion 'wrinkle' came that of crumple or plait, i.e. of a dress, or curl, i.e. of the hair. Etymologically *frounce*=*flounce* by interchange of *fr* and *fl*, as in *frocus* and *flocus*.

124. The "Attic boy" is Cephalus, or as Bottom pronounced the name, *Shafalus*, *Midsummer N. D.* v. 200. Mythology represents him as a hunter beloved by Eos (or Aurora), the goddess of the dawn; cf. Oberon's words, "I with the morning's love have oft made sport," *Midsummer N. D.* III. 2. 389. Milton has the same allusion in the fifth *Elegy*, 51 (where *Æolides*=Cephalus):

Desere, Phœbus ait, thalamos, Aurora, seniles;
Te manet Æolides viridi venator in herba.

125. i.e. with a cloud floating like a veil over her head. Cf. Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victorie in Heaven*, 12, "sickness with his kercher'd head vpwound." Way says: "The kerchief, derived from French *couvre chief*...a covering for the head, was until the XVIth cent. almost an indispensable portion of female attire. Illuminated MSS and monumental effigies present an endless variety of the fashions of its arrangement," (*Promptorium*, p. 272). Fr. *chef*=*caput*.

127. i.e. introduced. In *P. L.* x. 94 he speaks of winds that

"usher in
The evening cool;"

a reminiscence, perhaps, of Shakespeare, *Sonnet* 132.

Usher (O. F. *ussier*, mod. F. *huissier*, from Lat. *ostiarius*) properly

meant a doorkeeper; but it was also applied to the attendants who went in front of any great person in a procession. Ambition, says Cowley, likes "a train behind, aye, and ushers too before it," *Essays*, p. 85.

128. *His*, i.e. its; see *Nat. Ode*, 106.

130. i.e. drops that fall at intervals of a minute.

131, 132. So Fletcher of the sun (*Purple Island*, VI. 29), "Soon back he flings the too bold vent'ring gleam."

134. *Brown* was applied by earlier writers to very *dark* tints; cf. the definition in Johnson's *Dict.*, "the name of a colour, compounded of black and any other colour." Milton often uses it in this sense; cf. *P. L.* IX. 1087—88, "umbrage broad, and brown as evening;" which Pope imitated, *Odyssey* XVII. 215, and Gray, *Ode on the Spring:*

"Where'er the oak's thick branches stretch
A broader browner shade."

Sylvan. Sylvanus was the god of fields and forests; afterwards identified with Pan, the god of nature in general. Milton prefers the short form *Sylvan;* cf. *Com.* 268, *P. L.* IV. 140. *Sylvanus* occurs in *P. L.* IV. 707. Classical names are rarely abbreviated in Milton; *Lycid* is one instance (*Lyc.* 151), *Erymanth* another (*Arc.* 100).

135. *Monumental.* "I would ask, if any single word can be found equal to 'monumental' in its power of suggesting to the imagination the historic oak of park or chase, up to the knees in fern, which has outlasted ten generations of men; has been the mute witness of the scenes of love, treachery or violence enacted in the baronial hall which it shadows and protects; and has been so associated with man, that it is now rather a column and memorial obelisk than a tree of the forest." (Mark Pattison, *Life* of Milton, p. 25). This criticism seems more effective than the illustrations quoted by the editors. We may note, however, Warton's happy perversion of Milton's line in the *Panegyric on Oxford Ale* wherein he celebrates (among other pleasant things) his chair "of monumental oak, and antique mould."

141. Cf. the sonnet *To the Nightingale*, 5, "liquid notes that close the eye of day." Elizabethan writers use *eye of heaven* = the sun; cf. Marlowe, 2 *Tamburlaine*, IV. 3. 88, "A greater lamp than that bright eye of heaven." So Shakespeare, *Sonnets* 18 and 33.

Garish. Cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 2. 25, "pay no worship to the garish sun." Used generally in a bad sense = 'gaudy,' i.e. something that makes you stare or *gaze*, with which *garish* is cognate.

142—146. i.e. the hum of bees and the whisper of waters (sounds

suggested by the rhythm and alliteration of the lines) are to induce sleep. Cf. *P. R.* IV. 247—250, *P. L.* IV. 453, 454.

142. *Honied.* Strictly it is the pollen, not the honey, that the bee carries. Bottom in *Midsummer N. D.* IV. 1. 11—14 makes the same slip. Perhaps, however, *honied* may mean no more than sweet or fragrant as with honey; cf. "honied showers" in *Lyc.* 140.

145. *Consort*, i.e. harmony; see *Nat. Ode*, 132.

146. When Shakespeare speaks of "the golden dew of sleep," *Richard III.* IV. 1. 84, he uses *dew* in the metaphorical sense of 'refreshment' which it often bears in Scripture; cf. "the timely dew of sleep" in *P. L.* IV. 614. But here the description is in part literal; we see the dewdrops glistening on the wings of Morpheus. Cf. Collins, *The Passions*, "Shook thousand odours from his dewy wings."

147—150. The meaning of this much-discussed passage seems to be: 'let some dream float with undulating motion (i.e. *wave*) at the wings of Sleep, amid a stream of vivid pictures which rest lightly on the eyelids.' The *wings* are those of Sleep, i.e. the word echoes *dewy-feathered*. The dream attends on Sleep because it is the part of Morpheus to bring visions and dreams; cf. ll. 9, 10. The dream is personified, as in *P. L.* VIII. 292, "When suddenly stood at my head a dream." *Wave* is intransitive. By "stream of portraiture" is meant the imagery which comes with the dream, and through the eyelids penetrates to the imagination of the sleeper. The difficulty of the passage arises, I think, from the strain of personification (first of Sleep, then of the dream) which is strange to modern taste. There is a very similar description in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, Grosart, I. p. 169. Professor Hales compares the *Faerie Queene*, I. 1. 39—44. Probably, however, the source which lent Milton most inspiration was the following song in Jonson's *Vision of Delight*, (1617):

Night. "Break, Phant'sie, from thy cave of cloud,
And spread thy purple wings;
Now all thy figures are allowed,
And various shapes of things;
Create of airy forms a stream,
It must have blood, and nought of phlegm;
And though it be a waking dream,
Cho. Yet let it like an odour rise
To all the senses here,
And fall like sleep upon their eyes,
Or music in their ear."

That these lines lived in Milton's memory appears probable from another passage in his poems, viz. *P. L.* IV. 764.

149. *Lively*, i.e. vivid: "so exquisite and lively the description is in portraying the new state of the Church," *Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 446. Cf. Ascham, "a perfite *imitation*, or faire liuelie picture of the life of euerie degree of man," *Scholemaster*, p. 182.

153. To men "with gross unpurgèd ear" (*Arc.* 73) this spiritual music is inaudible; see *Nat. Ode*, 126.

154. The Genius of the Wood in *Arcades* is a musician.

155—166. Following his usual practice Milton has combined into a single picture suggestions drawn from several sources. "Cloister's pale" points to the cloistered court of an Oxford or Cambridge College, "embowèd roof" to one of the great Gothic Cathedrals; while lines 161—163 describe services such as the poet may often have heard at King's College Chapel or Ely. Thus by selection he paints an aspect of the ideal life of the student, whether it be passed at the University or in the close of a cathedral. The lines show that in 1633 (or 1634) Milton was still in sympathy with the ritual of the Church, though he did not care to enter its ranks as a clergyman. But from the prose works written later on might be quoted passages that condemn, directly or indirectly, almost everything which he here approves. For example, "cloistered" is twice used as a term of contempt: "this cloistered lubber," *Apology for Smectymnuus* (1641), and "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue," *Areopagitica* (1644); see *P. W.* III. 144, II. 68. Again, with ll. 159, 163, contrast the sneer in *Eikonoklastes*, 1649, at "*gaudy and painted windows*, and the *chanted service-book*," chap. XXV. Cf. also the previous section of the same tract, where he condemns "the singing men and the organs" of Charles' private chapel, *P. W.* I. 461, 462. In the *Areopagitica* he writes, "These are the pretty responsories, these are the dear antiphonies (i.e. anthems) that so bewitched of late our prelates and their chaplains, with the goodly echo they made," *P. W.* II. 61.

156. Cotgrave has "Cloistre. A cloister; a round walke or inclosure (covered over head) and environed with pillars; also, an Abbey, Priory, religious House." The first of these senses ("a round walke" etc.) is required here. From Lat. *claustrum* or *clostrum*.

157. i.e. let *me* love; strictly the subject of the verb is *feet*.

Embowèd, i.e. arched. "Milton was one of the latest true lovers of

Gothic architecture when the taste for it was declining as Gray was one of the earliest when the taste was reviving" (Hales).

158. Some editors print *antique*, and assume the sense to be 'ancient.' But Milton wrote *antick pillars*, which would be (in 17th cent. English) a perfectly natural expression for *ornamented* pillars. Cf. *Hamlet*, II. 2. 491, "his antic sword," i.e. sword decorated with designs on the hilt and blade. A special kind of decoration for walls was called *antic-work*. *Antic*='quaintly figured' and *antique* are etymologically identical, coming from *antiquus*, and in the early eds. of Shakespeare are given interchangeably, so that it is sometimes hard to say which sense a passage requires. Milton's editions, however, in *L'Al.* 128, read *antique*, from which perhaps we may infer that he recognised the distinction expressed in modern E. by the spelling *antic*, 'fanciful,' opposed to *antique*, 'old.' As he uses neither adjective more than once it is not possible to speak with certainty. The accentuation on the first syllable is invariable in Shakespeare, both of *antic* and *antique*.

Massy proof. So printed in Milton's eds.; some editors hyphen the words, on the analogy of compounds like *star-proof* (*Arc.* 89), and most appear to treat *proof* as an adjective, as though Milton had written *massively proof*. But *proof* may be a noun (in apposition to *pillars*), with the general sense 'solidity.' Cf. *S. A.* 133—134: "frock of mail, Adamantean proof." Derived from Lat. *probare*.

159. *Storied windows*, i.e. windows of stained glass figured or painted with scenes from Scripture or the history of the Church. Milton may claim credit for this beautiful epithet which later poets have borrowed; e.g. Gray in his *Elegy:* "storied urn or animated bust;" Landor in *Count Julian*, II. 1: "storied tapestry swells its rich arch;" and Tennyson in the *Ode to Memory*, V. Cf. *Pictured* in Gray's *Progress of Spring*. For *dight* see *L'Al.* 62.

160. Sir Thomas More says that the Churches of the people of Utopia "be al sumwhat darke. Howbeit that was not donne through ignoraunce in buildinge, but, as they say, by the counsel of the priestes. Bicause they thought that over much light doth disperse mens cogitations, whereas in dimme and doubtful lighte they be gathered together, and more earnestly fixed upon religion and devotion," p. 155 (Pitt Press).

161. Aubrey tells us that Milton was taught to play the organ by his father. It was his favourite instrument; cf. *P. L.* I. 708—709, XI. 560—564, and *Nat. Ode*, 130. Music has its place in the system of education outlined in Milton's *Tractate* (1644), and the students are to

be present every day "whilst the skilful organist plies his grave and fancied descant in lofty fuges." Contrast *L'Al.* 135—150.

163. *Anthem* is a corruption of the Church Lat. *antifona* (cf. Ital. *antifona*), written *antiphona* in older Lat., and derived from Greek ἀντίφωνα=things sounding in response. Strictly therefore *anthem* signifies a composition sung responsively by two (or more) choirs or voices; cf. Bacon's essay *Of Masques*, "Severall Quires, placed one over against another, and taking the voice by Catches, Antheme wise, give great Pleasure." Afterwards *anthem* came to be applied to any composition of a sacred character set to music. In Middle E. the word was commonly written *antem*; for the insertion of the *h* cf. *Anthony* for *Antony*, *amaranth* for *amarant*. We also find the form *antym*, due to a mistaken notion that it was derived from *ante* and *hymnus*.

164. *As*, i.e. such as; cf. *Nat. Ode*, 98.

166. Cf. the *Vacation Exercise*, 33—35:

"Where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heaven's door
Look in, and see each blissful deity."

167—174. Milton has a similar, though fuller, picture of the life of learned asceticism in *Com.* 386—392. He took no thought for the old age of L'Allegro; and the contrast "makes us know that Milton preferred the pensive to the mirthful temper" (Stopford Brooke). The last years of his own life were "weary."

170. *Spell*, i.e. study, ponder over. So Keats uses the noun—"a patient wing, a constant spell," *Endymion* III. (early).

172. Milton tells us in the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 150—151, how, under the guidance of his friend Diodati, he had studied,

Helleborumque, humilesque crocos, foliumque hyacinthi.

Cf. also *Com.* 619—628. "And ev'ry plant that drinks the morning dew" is a line in Pope's *Pastorals*, *Summer*, 32. For the rhyme in the couplet (which proves that the pronunciation of *shew* must have changed greatly) cf. *Com.* 994—96:

"Flowers of more mingled hue
Than her purfled scarf can shew."

See also *Com.* 512, and the sonnet *How soon hath Time*, 1—4.

175, 176. See *Introduction*.

LYCIDAS.

The Title. See *Introduction.*

Monody. Among Sylvester's *Remains* is an elegy *On Dame Hellen Branch* which he entitles a *Monodia*; see Grosart's ed. II. 329. West's poem on the death of Queen Caroline 1737, and Mason's *Musæus*, each an imitation of *Lycidas*, were described in the same way.

1—14. The laurel, myrtle and ivy are associated with poetry: of them is the poet's crown or garland woven: by plucking them Milton symbolises his return to verse-writing. Another explanation may be mentioned—that Milton gathers the laurels, etc. (as in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 57, 58) to lay them on the tomb of Lycidas, in fact to strew "the laureate hearse;" and that the premature plucking of them figures the premature death of his friend. But the drift of the passage shows that Milton is thinking less of Edward King than of himself. He had not published any poetry for some years; he had intended to keep silence: the period of preparation for the poet's office of which he often speaks was not completed: but the death of his fellow-student forces him to break through this reserve, and here is his apology for doing so. Most editors explain thus.

1. *Yet once more.* Some critics would limit the reference to elegiac compositions such as Milton had written in the *Death of a fair Infant* and the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester.* But, as already stated, he probably means that he is here taking up again his poet's pen which had not been at work on any kind of poetry since 1634 when *Comus* was written.

O ye laurels. The publisher's preface to the 1645 ed. of Milton's poems speaks of them as "evergreen and not to be blasted laurels." Cf. also Milton's lines *Ad Patrem* 101—102, where alluding to his own desire to win fame as a poet he says:

Ergo ego, jam doctæ pars quamlibet ima catervæ,
Victrices hederas inter laurosque sedebo;

and his address to the Italian *savant*, Giovanni Manso;

Forsitan et nostros ducat de marmore vultus,
Nectens aut Paphiâ myrti aut Parnasside lauri
Fronde comas

Manso had had a bust of the poet Marini sculptured, and Milton hoped that some friend would do the same service by him after his death, and

crown it in the way described. The ivy symbolises poetry on the side of learning; cf. Horace, *Odes*, I. 1. 29, Spenser, *Shepheards Cal. October*, 110. Note that the plants mentioned are all evergreens, 'never-sere,' and therefore typical of the immortal fame which this poem confers on Edward King.

2. *Brown*=dark; see *Il Pen.* 134. Cf. the *pulla myrtus* of Horace, *Odes*, I. 25. 18. Ovid has *nigra myrtus*, *Art. Amat.* III. 690. Bullokar speaks of the plant as "hauing small darke leaues, and bearing berries," *Expositor*, 1616.

Sere, or *sear*, =dry; commonly said of flowers or leaves, in the sense 'faded,' 'withered;' cf. the *Shepheards Cal. Jan.* (with the explanation in the *Glosse*), and *November*; also *Macbeth*, v. 3. 23. Occasionally metaphorical, as in Ben Jonson's *Entertainment at Theobalds*, 1607, "now in the twilight of sere age." From A. S. *séar;* cognate with O. F. *sor*, Mod. F. *saure*, Old E. *soyr*=brown, as of withered plants. Tennyson appears to have imitated this verse; cf. the *Ode to Memory:*

"Those peerless flowers which in the rudest wind
Never grow sere."

3. *Crude* in Milton=*crudus*, i.e. 'unripe,' as here and in *S. A.* 700, "crude old age"=premature because not ripe; or 'undigested,' as in *Com.* 480 and the *Reason of Church Government*, "in state many things at first are crude and hard to digest," *P. W.* II. 470; or 'raw,' as in *P. L.* VI. 511.

4—5. See *Introduction.*

Shatter=disturb; cf. *P. L.* X. 1066, 67. *Mellowing* is truer of the berries than the leaves. What Milton really means is the want of "inward ripeness" (cf. his second sonnet) in himself and his poetry.

6. Cf. Keat's *Ode to Psyche:*

"O Goddess! hear these tuneless numbers, wrung
By sweet enforcement and remembrance dear."

Spenser was moved by "hard constraint" to compose his *Pastorall Œglogue* on Sir Philip Sidney. Cf. *P. L.* X. 131—132.

Sad occasion dear. For the peculiar (but with Milton favourite) order of the words see note on *Nat. Ode*, 187. In the English of this period *dear* "is used of whatever touches us nearly either in love or hate, joy or sorrow," Clarendon Press note on *Hamlet*, I. 2. 182 ("my dearest foe in heaven"). Shakespeare often applies it to that which is strongly disagreeable; e.g. in *Hen. V.* II. 2. 181, "all your dear offences," i.e. grievous; and *Love's L. L.* v. 2. 801.

7. *Compels.* The singular sounds natural since *constraint* and

occasion form one idea; cf. *Troilus and Cressida*, IV. 5. 170, "faith and troth bids them." A verb in the singular (or what seems the singular), with a plural antecedent, is very common in Elizabethan E. Cf. Shakespeare, *Venus and Adonis*, 1127, 28:

"She lifts the coffer-lids that close his eyes,
Where lo! two lamps burnt out in darkness *lies*."

There the rhyme has prevented change in the text; but many of the instances that occur in the First Folio have been altered by modern editors. The idiom is perhaps accountable for thus: in O. E. the plural was formed by three inflections, *eth* in Southern dialects, *en* in Midland, and *es* in Northern. The two first, *eth* and *en*, are found in Shakespeare; and the Northern *es* may survive in a case such as we have just given. See Abbott's *Shaksp. Gram.* pp. 234—239.

8. *Lycidas*, the name of the shepherd in Theocritus, *Idyl* VII., and of one of the speakers in Vergil's ninth *Eclogue*. Cf. the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 132. There is "*An Eclogue, or Pastorall between* Endimion Porter *and* Lycidas Herrick" in the *Hesperides* (Grosart's ed. II. 136).

Ere his prime. Cf. the account of Edward King given in the Cambridge volume in which *Lycidas* is printed: *animam deo reddidit... anno ætatis* XXV. "Complete in all things, but in yeares," says another contributor (Beaumont) to the same collection.

9. The repetition of a name was a recognised trick whereby to heighten the pathetic effect; cf. Spenser's *Astrophel:*

"Young Astrophel, the pride of shepheards praise,
Young Astrophel, the rusticke lasses love."

Often the name was repeated in the form of a rhetorical question; e.g. in *Com.* 50, "On Circe's island fell. Who knows not Circe?"

Peer, i.e. equal, Lat. *par*, O. F. *per*, mod. F. *pair*. In Shakespeare the word has its modern sense, 'nobleman,' except in *Hen. VIII.* II. 1. 26, "His peers, upon this evidence, have found him guilty." See Spenser, *F. Q.* VI. 2. 29, and cf. *peer-less*. "Peers are properly the chief vassals of a lord, having *equal* rights one with another" (Brachet).

10. Imitated from Vergil, *Ecl.* X. 2, 3:

Carmina sunt dicenda; neget quis carmina Gallo?

Cf. Pope, *Windsor Forest*, 55, 56:

"Granville commands; your aid, O Muses, bring!
What Muse for Granville can refuse to sing?"

10, 11. *He knew himself to sing.* Perhaps a poetic exaggeration, to increase the pathos of his friend's death. Masson has been able to trace only a few pieces of Latin Verse by Edward King contributed to

different collections of Cambridge poetry; see *Life of Milton*, I. pp. 602—604. It was an age, however, when poets circulated their writings in MS among their friends, and Milton may have seen verses by King which did not find their way into print. Another writer in the volume says that he "drest the Muses in the brav'st attire that ere they wore;" so that, very likely, Milton had some ground for his praise.

Knew to. Cf. the infinitive after verbs like *ἐπίσταμαι*, *calleo*, *scio*, etc.; e.g. in Horace, *Ars Poet.* 158, *reddere qui voces jam scit.* It was a common idiom in Elizabethan E.; cf. Jonson's *Masque of Hymen*, "O know to end, as to begin;" see *Com.* 87. We should insert *how.*

11. *Build.* For the metaphor the editors compare Euripides, *Supplices*, ἀοιδὰς ἐπύργωσε, and Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 1004, πυργώσας ῥήματα σεμνά. Similar is the use of *condo; seu condis amabile carmen*, Horace, *Epist.* I. 3. 24. So Coleridge (in the *Nightingale*) imitating Milton:

"And many a poet echoes the conceit,
Poet who hath been building up the rhyme."

The metaphor is put even more boldly in Tennyson's *Œnone*:

"Hear me, for I will speak, and build up all
My sorrow with my song."

Rhyme, i.e. verse. So printed in the eds. of 1638 and 1645, though the *Cambridge MS* has *rime.* It has been suggested that Milton wrote *rhyme* where he meant poetry opposed to prose, as in *P. L.* I. 16, "things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme;" and *rime* where he intended rhymed metre in contrast to blank verse, as in the *Preface* to *P. L.* The distinction is rather fanciful. Being the A. S. word *rim*, a number, it should be written *rime*, and often was until the end of the 17th cent.; cf. the preface to Waller's poems, 1690, "he continu'd an obstinate lover of rime"..."before his time, men rim'd indeed." The misspelling *rhyme* is due to confusion with *rhythm*, Gk. *ῥυθμός.* Many scholars now use the correct form, *rime.*

12. *Bier*, being "a frame, whereon they use to lay the dead corse" (*Glosse* to *Shepheards Cal. Nov.*) is used correctly, since the body is borne upon the waves. By an extension of meaning it could be applied to the dead body itself (as in Spenser's *Astrophel*, 149), or the tomb in which it was laid; cf. *F. Q.* III. 3. 11. Shelley, borrowing Milton's phrase, seems to use it in the latter sense; cf. the Lines *Written among the Euganean Hills:*

"If the power that raised thee here,
Hallow so thy watery bier."

A. S. *bǽr*, *beran*, to carry, are akin to *feretrum* and *φέρετρον.*

13. *Welter to*, i.e. be tossed to and fro by the wind. As a rule the word is used metaphorically in the sense of *wallow*, with which it is cognate. Cf. *The Reason of Church Government*, "such hopes and such principles of earth as these wherein she welters," *P. W.* II. 506. Cotgrave has "Tantouiller: To tumble, to wallow, to welter, in." Also written *walter*, as by Ascham, *Scholemaster*, p. 130; cf. Germ. *wälzen*, mod. E. *waltz*.

14. An oft-imitated verse; cf. Cowper's translation of the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 1—2:

"Ye nymphs of Himera (for ye have shed
Erewhile for Daphnis, and for Hylas dead,
And over Bion's long lamented bier
The fruitless meed of many a sacred tear);"

or Coleridge's lines *To A Friend:*

"Is thy Burns dead?
And shall he die unwept and sink to earth
Without the meed of *one* melodious tear?"

Tear (cf. the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 55) was often used of elegiac compositions: hence the appropriateness of the epithet *melodious*. Cf. Sylvester's monody (Grosart II. 339):

"You springs of Arts, eyes of this noble Realme,
Cambridge and Oxford, lend your learned teares."

The same writer's poem *Lacrymæ* is called on the title-page "The Spirit of Teares." Many of the collections of elegiac verse issued by the Universities bore the title *Lacrymæ*.

15. *Begin.* The invocation (see *Nat. Ode*, 15, note) is cast in the pastoral style. Cf. Theocritus, *Id.* I. 64, ἄρχετε βωκολικᾶς, Μῶσαι φίλαι, ἄρχετ' ἀοιδᾶς, "begin, ye Muses dear, begin the pastoral song," a line repeated as a refrain. So Verg. *Ecl.* X. 6. West employs the same device in his Monody (*Gray and his Friends*, p. 110):

"Begin: nor more delay
The sacred meed of gratitude to pay:
Begin: whate'er immortal song can do."

Cf. also Watson's *Melibœus:*

"I now beginne: *Apollo* guide my sounde,
and weepe yee sisters of the learned hill."

15—16. The 'Sisters' are the Nine Muses: the 'sacred well' is the fountain Aganippe on Mt Helicon: the 'seat of Jove' is the altar on the hill dedicated to Jove. It has been shown that Milton modelled these lines upon the commencement of the *Theogony* of Hesiod who

mentions the κρήνην Ιοειδέα...καὶ βωμὸν ἐρισθενέος Κρονίωνος. Milton invented the detail that the waters of Aganippe had their source beneath the altar, perhaps to emphasise the sanctity of the poet's inspiration. See note on *Il Pen.* 48.

Well=spring, as often in Spenser, e.g. *Shep. Cal. April:*

"And eke you Virgins, that on Parnasse dwell,
Whence floweth Helicon, the learned well."

Cf. the same poem *Julye* or Chaucer's *House of Fame*, II. 13—14.

17. *Sweep*, one of the favourite words of last century writers; cf. Pope, *Cecilia's Day*, or Collins' Ode *The Passions*. Mrs Browning has the fine line, "The poet's star-tuned harp to sweep."

18. *Coy* was a stronger word then than now, equivalent often to 'contemptuous,' 'disdainful.' Ascham complained that courtiers were "solume, coye, big, and dangerous of looke," *Scholemaster*, 104. Cotgrave gives it as a rendering of *mespriseresse*. Cf. the verb coined by Shakespeare, in *Coriolanus*, v. 1. 16, "if he coyed to hear Cominius speak." Coming from O. F. *coi*, Lat. *quietus*, it is a doublet of *quiet*, and in old E. meant 'still,' 'sober;' in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, 3564, *acoye*=make quiet.

19. *So*=on condition that I mourn for Lycidas; cf. *Com.* 242.

Muse=poet. Cf. Browne, "our second *Ouid*, the most pleasing Muse" (said of Chapman). Prof. Hales (in illustration of Spenser, *Prothal.* 159) quotes Dryden's *Absalom and Ach.* 1:

"Sharp-judging Ariel, the muses' friend,
Himself a muse."

20. i.e. the grave that is destined for me.

Urn=tomb; cf. Herrick (Grosart, II. 219):

"We hence must go,
Both to be blended in the urn,
From whence there's never a return."

Sir Thomas Browne says: "That great antiquity America lay buried for thousands of years, and a large part of the earth is still in the urn unto us," *Works*, III. 455.

Lucky, i.e. that wish me good fortune (such as *vale, vale*).

21. Cf. Gray's "passing tribute of a sigh," *Elegy*, st. XX.; and Macaulay's beautiful poem, *A Jacobite's Epitaph*.

22. *Shroud*, probably in its usual sense 'winding-sheet;' but some editors interpret it 'grave.' For *shroud*='shelter' see *Nat. Ode*, 218.

23—36. The passage describes, under pastoral imagery, Milton's life at the University in company with Edward King; he is thinking of

Christ's College, Cambridge ("the selfsame hill"), of the studies and pursuits they had in common ("we drove afield" etc.). But part of the picture is conventional: we must not read between all the lines for a hidden meaning. Otherwise the Satyrs and Fauns will be the undergraduates of Christ's; the "rural ditties," the college exercises; and "old Damœtas," Milton's tutor, Mr Chappell, delighting to correct those exercises ("hear our song"): much of which seems to us ridiculous. A writer of pastoral verse is bound by usage to say certain things, and Milton says them. He introduces "Fauns" because Vergil had supplied a precedent, *Ecl.* VI. 27. There are "ditties" because a shepherd without his "oaten flute" would be an anomaly. Damœtas looks on because Melibœus does so in Vergil's seventh *Eclogue*. Poetry of this type is too artificial to bear literal interpretation.

25, 26. See *L'Al.* 41, note.

25. *Lawns*. See *Nat. Ode*, 85. Of course the landscape is ideal. When Milton refers directly to Cambridge and the country round he uses no complimentary language; cf. the first *Elegy*, 11—14:

Iam nec arundiferum mihi cura revisere Camum.

. . . . . .

Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasque negantia molles;
Quam male Phœbicolis convenit ille locus!

26. Cf. *Job* iii. 9 (where the marginal reading is the correct rendering of the Hebrew translated in the Authorised V. "the dawning of the day"), and xli. 18, "his eyes are like the eyelids of the morning." This beautiful phrase has been borrowed by many poets; e.g. by Marlowe, "Now, Phœbus, ope the eyelids of the day" (*Jew of Malta*, II.); and Sylvester, "May it no more see th' Eyelids of the Morning," *Job Triumphant* (Grosart, II. 149). Cf. also one of the *Juvenilia* of Tennyson (in whose early poems there are many Miltonic echoes), "ray-fringed eyelids of the morn." The editors quote Sophocles, *Antigone* 104, χρυσέας ἀμέρας βλέφαρον; but that is only a periphrasis for 'the sun,' and may better be compared with "eye of day" in Milton's Sonnet *To the Nightingale;* see note on *Il Pen.* 141. For the textual variation in the line see *Appendix*.

27. *Drove*, i.e. their flocks. Cf. Gray's *Elegy*, st. VII.

Sultry serves to fix the time of the day, three periods being indicated—morning, ll. 25—27; noon, l. 28; and evening, ll. 29—31.

Gray-fly. Some kind of gnat may be meant, but it is hard to say what. Sir Thomas Browne discusses in his *Vulgar Errors* (bk. III. chap. xxvii. sect. 10) the means by which flies make "that noise or

humming sound," and his remarks are equally vague. Collins in his imitation of this line is at least definite; cf. the *Ode to Evening*, reminiscent of Milton in every stanza:

"Or where the beetle winds
His small but sullen horn."

What time=at the time when, *quo tempore*. Once a common idiom; cf. *Psalm* lvi. 3, "What time I am afraid, I will trust in thee." So *Com.* 291, *Titus Andronicus*, IV. 3. 19.

29. *Batten* (a Scandinavian word) is more correct as an intransitive verb, 'to grow fat;' cf. Herrick, *Content in the Country:*

"We eate our own, and batten more,
Because we feed on no mans score."

So *Hamlet*, III. 4. 67, and Ben Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, II. 3, "It makes her fat, you see; she battens with it." For the active use cf. Greene's *Friar Bacon*, X. 58, 59:

"The meads environ'd with the silver streams
Whose battling pastures fatten all my flock."

Cotgrave has "Engraisser un champ. To battle it, or make it fertile." Cognate is the University term *battels*. From the same root (signifying 'excellence,' 'prosperity') come *better*, *best*, G. *besser;* see l. 64.

30—31. Referring to the evening star Hesperus, whose appearance is a signal to the shepherd to fold his flocks, as in *Com.* 93. Strictly it does not *rise*. For the original form of the lines see *Append.* and cf. Tennyson's "Great Orion sloping slowly to the west," *Locksley Hall.*

32—36. See l. 23, note. We may remember that at that time Cambridge was remarkable for the number of its poets. Cf. Crashaw's lines to the Master of Pembroke College. Many collections of verse, such as the *Lycidas* volume, were issued from the University Press.

32. Borrowed by West in his monody:

"Meantime thy rural ditty was not mute,
Sweet bard of Merlin's cave,"

the reference being to the absurd writer, Stephen Duck (*Gray and his Friends*, p. 89). In modern E. ditty, from Lat. *dictatum* (not, as sometimes stated, from *dictum*) is depreciatory, but formerly it was applicable to any kind of song. In the *Utopia* it is used of Church-music: "a dytty of gladness, of patience, of trouble," p. 158 (Pitt Press ed.). Cf. too the *Tractate on Education*, "sometimes the lute or soft organ-stop waiting on elegant voices, either to religious, martial, or civil ditties," *P. W.* III. 476. Properly it means the words as opposed to the music of a ballad; cf. Hooker, *Polity*, V. 38. 1.

33. *Tempered to*, i.e. attuned to. Cf. *P. L.* VII. 597, 598:

"All sounds on fret by string or golden wire
Tempered soft tunings."

It is a favourite word with Milton and Shakespeare, the underlying metaphor usually being to mix either metals or liquids until they have become fused and harmonious: hence the general idea 'agreement,' 'harmony.' Baret's *Alvearie* has, "To temper his talke to the fantasie and pleasure of...*Orationem auribus multitudinis accomodare*," i.e. attune it to the taste of the crowd; and Milton in the *Tractate on Education* speaks of tempering "lectures and explanations" to the capacity of students, *P. W.* III. 468.

Oaten. In English poetry tradition requires that the shepherd's pipe should be an 'oat.' Cf. *Lyc.* 88, *Com.* 345, *Love's L. L.* v. 2. 913. Many illustrations might be quoted from Spenser, Herrick (see the *Hesperides* in Grosart's ed. II. 136, 172), and Collins. Landor says to Joseph Ablett: "We remote May open-breasted blow the pastoral oat." Probably the use is traceable to the *tenuis avena* of Vergil, *Ecl.* I. 2, as the *Glosse* to the *Shep. Cal. October* implies, "Oaten reedes, Avena." But *avena* could be applied to other stalks. In his Latin poems Milton commonly uses *cicuta*, the hemlock pipe; see the *Epitaphium* 135, 157.

34. Taken from Vergil, *Ecl.* VI. 27, and borrowed by Pope, *Pastorals*, *Summer*, 49, 50. The Satyri belonged to Greek, the Fauni to Latin mythology: practically they were identified by Roman writers, and regarded as divinities of the fields and country life. *With cloven heel*, because they were supposed to be half men, half goats. Cf. Milton's fifth *Elegy*, 122, *Semicaperque Deus, semideusque caper*, where the *Deus = Faunus*. *Semicaper* is from Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 101.

36. *Damœtas*, a common name in pastoral writers; cf. Verg. *Ecl.* III. 1. Masson notes that *old* is a favourite word with Milton, implying compliment; cf. l. 160.

37—49. The most direct expression of personal grief which *Lycidas* contains. The paucity of rhyme in ll. 37—41 is noticeable.

37. Partially quoted in Wordsworth's *Simon Lee:*

"But, oh the heavy change! bereft
Of health, strength, friends and kindred."

38. *Never must*, i.e. art destined never to; cf. *Nat. Ode*, 150.

39. *Thee...thee.* For the repetition (which emphasises the pathos) cf. Vergil's *Te veniente die, te decedente canebat*, *G.* IV. 466. In Shakespeare a repeated pronoun often expresses contempt, or reproach;

cf. *Midsummer N. D.* I. 1. 28: "Thou, thou, Lysander, thou hast given her rhymes." See *Appendix*.

40. Imitated by Milton's friend Marvell:

"Bind me, ye woodbines, in your twines,
Curl me about, ye gadding vines."

Gadding points to the straggling growth of the vine; cf. the similar epithets applied to it elsewhere—'mantling,' *P. L.* IV. 258, and *Com.* 294, 'clustering,' *P. L.* VII. 320. *Gad* (Scandinavian and cognate with *goad*) meant to wander, roam. Cotgrave gives it s.v. *vagabond*, and Florio s.v. *vagabondo*. Rarely used, as here, in a literal sense: commonly metaphorical, with the idea 'going astray.' So frequently in Milton's prose works; e.g. in *The Likeliest Means*, "they should not gad for preferment out of their own country" *P. W.* III. 27; and *The Areopagitica*, "an untaught and irreligious gadding rout," *P. W.* II. 88.

41. Remembering the classical story of Echo (one of the Oreads or mountain nymphs), Milton here personifies the echoes (cf. *Com.* 230—243) and represents them as dwelling in woods and caves; cf. *Romeo and Juliet*, II. 2. 162, and Milton's Ode on *The Passion*, 52, 53:

"The gentle neighbourhood of grove and spring
Would soon unbosom all their echoes mild."

The device of making them lament for Lycidas was borrowed from his Greek models. Cf. the *Epitaphium Bionis*, "the Panes sorrow for thy sorrow, and the fountain fairies in the wood make moan...and Echo in the rocks laments that thou art silent, and no more she mimics thy voice," Lang's translation of Moschus (*Golden Treas.* ed.) 198. Cf. too Shelley's *Adonais* st. XV. In the earlier portions of that poem Shelley followed closely the classical writers of pastoral elegy; as the *Adonais* advanced the treatment became much freer and the Greek influence declined. There is a similar passage in the *Mourning Muse of Thestylis*, 143—144.

44. i.e. moving their leaves like fans; cf. the tract *Of Reformation*, "but he sent out a gentle gale and message of peace from the wings of those his cherubim that fan his mercy-seat," *P. W.* II. 406.

45. *Canker*, i.e. the worm that preys on blossoms, especially roses. Cf. *Arc.* 53: "Or hurtful worm with cankered venom bites." Often mentioned by Shakespeare, e.g. in *Sonnet* 95, *Midsummer N. D.* II. 2. 3, and elsewhere. By a metaphor it signified some corroding evil; cf. Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, "And must tradition then ever thus to the world's end be the perpetual canker-worm to eat out God's commandments?" *P. W.* II. 459. The wild or 'dog' rose is especially

subject to this disease: hence in Shakespeare *canker* (or *canker-bloom*, as in *Sonnet* 54) sometimes means a wild-rose; cf. *Much Ado*, I. 3. 28. From Lat. *cancer*, 'a crab'—also an 'eating tumour.'

46. *Taint-worm*, i.e. some worm that causes disease in sheep and cattle. It has been thought that Milton may be referring to the insect mentioned in the *Vulgar Errors* (bk. III. chap. xvii. sect. 11) of Sir Thomas Browne, who says, "There is found in the summer a kind of spider, called a tainct, of a red colour, and so little of body that ten of the largest will hardly outweigh a grain; this by country people is accounted a deadly poison unto cows and horses; who, if they suddenlie die, and swell thereon, ascribe their death hereto, and will commonly say, they have licked a tainct. Now to satisfy the doubts of men, we have called this tradition unto experiment...yet never could find the least disturbance to ensue." He then proceeds to describe other insects and parasites "which from elder times have been observed pernicious unto cattle;" and probably it was some one of these that Milton meant. The subject is not one on which he would care to be so precise as Sir Thomas Browne; see the *Works* of the latter, II. 527—28.

Weanling, i.e. young; a diminutive formed from the verb *wean*, like *yeanling* from *yean*. *Wean* is cognate with *wont*, Germ. *gewöhnen*, and properly it meant 'to accustom;' but 'accustoming *to*' one thing implies 'disaccustoming *from*' another: hence *wean* incorrectly got the meaning 'disaccustom.'

47. *Wardrobe*. Properly used of the chest or place in which dresses are kept: then applied to the dresses themselves. Cf. the *Tempest*, IV. 222, "look what a wardrobe here is for thee." Perhaps we have the same metaphor (of the flowers putting on their spring garb) in "*well-attired* woodbine," l. 146. Spelt *wardrobe* in the 1638 ed., *wardrop* in those of 1645 and 1673. From O. F. *warde-robe* afterwards written *garde-robe;* see *Nat. Ode*, 124.

48. The *white thorn*=the *hawthorn* of *L'Al.* 68. Shakespeare uses the same obvious way of pointing to the spring-time, *Midsummer N. D.* I. 1. 183.

Blows, i.e. flowers. Minsheu has, "To blow as a flower, or to open as a bud...*bluhen*, *fleurir*." Cf. *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 249. Used transitively (i.e. 'cause to bloom') in *Com.* 994.

50. This appeal to the Nymphs, the powers of mountain (ll. 52—54) and river (55), asking why they had not been present in their usual haunts to help their favourite, is modelled partly on Theocritus, *Id.* I. 66—69, partly on Vergil, *Ecl.* X. 9—12. The places chosen by Milton,

viz. the mountains of Denbighshire, the isle of Anglesey, and the banks of the Dee, were associated directly with Lycidas, each being near to the scene of his shipwreck. In this respect Milton has followed Theocritus, who addressed the Nymphs of those special localities with which the subject of his poem—the shepherd Daphnis—was familiar. Vergil is less definite, mentioning only the usual resorts of the Muses, Parnassus and Mt Helicon. See Warton's note on this passage. Mr Jerram thinks that Milton identifies the Nymphs with the Muses. Spenser reflects the same classical influence in *Astrophel*, 127—132; and Shelley, borrowing from *Paradise Lost*, VII. ll. 1 *et seq.*, Milton's conception of Urania as the Muse of divine poetry, makes her the mother of Adonais (just as Calliope was the mother of Orpheus), and blames her (st. 11.) for not preventing the death of *her* "enchanting son:"

> "Where wert thou, mighty Mother, when he lay,
> When thy son lay, pierced by the shaft which flies
> In darkness? Where was lorn Urania
> When Adonais died?"

52. The *steep* may be Penmænmawr, or (as Warton thought) the Druid sepulchres at *Kerig y Druidion* in Denbighshire, mentioned by Camden as a burial-place of the Druids.

53. Here he naturally introduces the Druids as poets; cf. the poem *Mansus*, 42, 43:

> *Gens Druides antiqua, sacris operata deorum,*
> *Heroum laudes imitandaque gesta canebant.*

In the prose works he emphasises another aspect of their office: cf. the *Doctrine of Divorce*, "our ancient Druids by whom this island was the cathedral of philosophy to France," *P. W.* III. 178; or the *Hist. of Britain*, where they are "a sort of priests or magicians," *P. W.* V. 198. *Druid* is Celtic; Irish *druidh* = an augur, cf. Welsh *derwydd*.

Bard was specially applied to Celtic poets; cf. Sidney's *Apologie for Poetrie*, "In Wales...there are good authorities to shewe the long time they had Poets, which they called *Bardes*," Arber's *Reprint*, p. 22. So Spenser, *State of Ireland*, and Shakespeare, *Richard III.* IV. 2. 109.

54. Cf. Cowley's *Vision concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell:* "But sure it was no dream; for I was suddainly transported afar off...and found myself on the top of that famous hill in the island Mona, which has the prospect of three great kingdoms."

Mona = the isle of Anglesey. Cf. the *Hist. of Britain:* "At last

over confident of his present actions...he marches up, as far as Mona, the isle of Anglesey, a populous place," *P. W.* v. 207. Cf. also Spenser, *F. Q.* III. 3. 48, and Collins' *Ode to Liberty*, last lines. That the island was formerly well-wooded (cf. "*shaggy* top"), though now bare, we know from Tacitus; cf. also the description in Browne's *Pastorals*, bk. II. 1:

"It was an Iland
And *Mona* height: so amiably faire,
So deckt with Floods, so pleasant in her Groues."

Very likely Milton had read the account in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, the 9th *Song*. Warton identified Mona with the Isle of Man, on the authority of Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* v. 13.

54. See *P. L.* VII. 5—7. *Shaggy;* cf. *P. L.* IV. 224, or Gray, "the steep of Snowdon's shaggy side," *The Bard*, II. The epithet suggests a wood-covered hillside seen in profile; Keats (*Ode to Psyche*) has the same picture in the lines much praised by Ruskin:

"Far, far around shall those dark-clustered trees
Fledge the wild-ridgèd mountains steep by steep."

Cf. Lat. *horrens*, *horridus*, applied to woodland scenery.

55. The Deva is the river Dee. Cf. the first *Elegy*, 3—4. It was supposed to foretell, by changing its course, good or ill events for England and Wales, of which it forms the boundary: hence the reverence with which poets mention it. Cf. *wisard* here and the *Vacation Exercise*, 98, "ancient hallowed Dee." So Spenser, *F. Q.* IV. 2. 39. Browne writes, *Britannia's Pastorals*, bk. II. Song 5:

"Neuer more let holy Dee
Ore other Riuers braue."

Tennyson alludes to the superstition in the *Idylls of the King*. *Wisard*= sacred, in a good sense; see *Nat. Ode*, 23.

56. *Fondly*, foolishly; see *Il Pen.* 6.

57. *For* explains *fondly*: "it is foolish of me to dream (i.e. say to myself) 'if only the Nymphs had been there,' *for* after all what could they have done?"

58. *The Muse herself*, i.e. Calliope, whose name Milton introduced in the original draft of these lines. See *Appendix*. Shelley substitutes Urania; see l. 50.

59—63. A passage much revised; see *Appendix*.

59. *Enchanting*, i.e. who worked by enchantment, viz. of music. *Enchant* in Shakespeare has the two meanings, to bewitch, and to delight (as in mod. E.). *Enchant* and *charm* are very similar in deriva-

tion—one from *cantus*, the other from *carmen*—and in the weakening of their respective meanings; see *Nat. Ode*, 68, note.

61—63. Referring to the death of Orpheus as told by Vergil, *G.* IV. 517—527, and more fully by Ovid, *Met.* XI. 1—55: that Orpheus in his grief for Eurydice treated with disdain the Thracian women and was torn to pieces by them; his head (also his lyre, according to Ovid) being thrown into the Hebrus and carried across to Lesbos, where its supposed place of burial was pointed out at Antissa. Milton rewrote these lines in *P. L.* VII. 32—38. It was a favourite allusion with poets of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. Cf. Mantuan's *Eglogs* translated by Turberville (Arber's ed. p. 36):

"The Thracian Wiues w' cruell clubes
The poet *Orpheus* rent;"

or Browne's *Inner Temple Masque;*

"Wth human gore
Cleare Hebrus Channell was all stayn'd ore."

So Shakespeare, *Midsummer N. D.* V. 1. 48, Drayton, *English Odes* ('To himself'), and Lady Winchelsea in her *Answer to Mr Pope*. Waller humorously rationalised the legend in the preface to his poems (1645), bidding the Queen to whom they were dedicated "tear them in pieces, wherein you shall honour me with the fate of Orpheus, for so his poems...not his limbs as the story will have it, I suppose, were scattered by the Thracian dames."

61. *Rout*='band' is common in Spenser, Shakespeare and Milton. Usually it bears a depreciatory sense, as here; cf. the quaint definition in Bullokar's *Expositor*, "Route, A disorderly assembly of three or moe persons moouing forward to commit by force an vnlawfull act." French *route* comes from Lat. *rupta*=(i) "a defeat, flying mass of broken troops, (ii) a fragment of an army, a troop"—Skeat. *Route*='way' is the same word. *Rupta* often means a 'road' in mediæval Lat. texts, *via* having been originally understood.

62. *The stream*, i.e. the Hebrus, the principal river of Thrace, which rising in the mountain range of Rhodope runs into the Ægean near Œnos. It is generally mentioned in connection with Orpheus; cf. Spenser, *Virgil's Gnat*, 137, 138; Pope, *Cecilia's Day*, VI. The epithet *swift* repeats Vergil's *volucrem Hebrum* in *Æneid* I. 317, where however some editors (e.g. Heyne and Ribbeck) read *Eurum*, on the ground that the Hebrus is not a swift-flowing river; so at least Servius says, but the point has not been settled and in any case is immaterial. Cowper was evidently of Milton's opinion; cf.

the *Marriage of a Friend*, "And bade *wild* Hebrus hush his listening wave."

64—84. This passage interrupts the narrative. It is one of two long digressions in *Lycidas*, the other being ll. 113—131. The interest centres in Milton himself. The opinions are those which find frequent vent in his prose writings, concerning the high office of the poet (which his contemporaries regarded so lightly), the dignity of learning and study, and the worth of true fame.

64. *What boots*, i.e. of what advantage is it? Cf. *S. A.* 560. *Boot* (the noun) is the A. S. *bót*, Middle E. *bote*=remedy, succour, from the base seen in Middle E. *beten*, to amend, *better;* cf. note on *batten*, l. 29. Minsheu (1617) writes, "Boote is an old word, and signifieth help, aid...we say, what bootes, or auaileth it?"; and Sherwood, 1650, "It booteth not, *c'est en vain, cela ne profite rien, n'avantage rien.*"

65—66. i.e. apply oneself to poetry. He means more than the mere composition of verse: *incessant care* and *strictly* imply rigorous self-devotion to learning and preparation for the poet's calling; cf. the *Reason of Church Government*, "labour and intense study...I take to be my portion in this life," *P. W.* II. 478.

66. *Meditate the Muse* is a translation of Vergil's *Silvestrem tenui musam meditaris avena* (*Ecl.* I. 2); so *Ecl.* VI. 8. The sense of *meditate*, as a rendering of *meditari*, must be determined from the context. In *Com.* 547 ("meditate my rural minstrelsy") the meaning is 'play on my shepherd's pipe.'

Thankless=profitless, because the Muse can do nothing to ward off death from the poet. Also Milton may have been moved by the feeling that poetry had done little for him materially. Newton explains "that earns no thanks, is not thanked by the ungrateful world."

67—69. *Others*=contemporary poets, e.g. Herrick and Suckling (whom Milton may have known at Cambridge). There were too the followers of Ben Jonson such as Randolph, whose Muse was often erotic; and Lovelace, instanced by Mr Jerram.

67. *Use*, i.e. are wont. *Use*, now limited to the preterite, was common as a present tense=to be accustomed; generally, however, it was followed by an infinitive; cf. *Psalm* cxix. 132, "be merciful unto me, as thou usest to do unto those that love thy name."

69—70. As usual, Milton chooses names associated with pastoral verse. See Verg. *Ecl.* I. 4, III. 5, and elsewhere. These particular names are mentioned together in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, 524—540; also in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* XI. 12 (see *Notes and Q.*

1. 1. 387). Neæra occurs more than once in the bucolic poems of Mantuan; see nos. iv. and vi. (pp. 39, 53 of Arber's *Reprint*). Warton found here an allusion to two Latin poems by the Scotch writer George Buchanan, addressed respectively to Neæra and Amaryllis.

69. Closely imitated by Collins in his Ode *The Passions*, last verses. Professor Hales compares Lovelace's *To Althea*, "When I lie tangled in her hair." See *Appendix*.

70. The editors quote Cicero, *Pro Archia*, 10: *trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur*. Cf. Spenser, *Teares of the Muses*, 404: "Due praise, that is the spur of dooing well;" or Ben Jonson, *Prince Henry's Barriers:* "But all these spurs to virtue, seeds of praise."

70. *Clear*, i.e. pure, here perhaps with the idea 'free from the taint of worldliness.' Cf. the *Remonstrant's Defence*, where Milton asks whether learning is to be sought in "the den of Plutus, or the cave of Mammon. Certainly never any clear spirit nursed up from bright influences, with a soul enlarged to the dimensions of spacious art and high knowledge, ever entered there but with scorn," *P. W.* III. 81. Cf. again *The Two Kinsmen*, v. 4. 10—13: they are dying, says Palamon, "not halting under crimes," but "clear spirits," i.e. unsoiled by long life in the world. So *clear-spirited* in the same play 1. 2. 74. In the *Adonais*, st. IV. Shelley, with felicitous plagiarism, took Milton's words and applied them to Milton himself:

"his clear Sprite
Yet reigns o'er earth, the third among the sons of light."

Clear = pure, innocent, is common in Elizabethan E.; cf. *Tempest*, III. 3. 82, *Troilus*, II. 3. 163.

71. The sentiment vividly expressed by Tacitus, *Hist.* IV. 6, '*etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur.*' Cf. *P. R.* III. 25—28, and *P. R.* II. 227—228:

"honour, glory and popular praise,
Rocks, whereon greatest men have oftest wrecked."

The parenthetic form of the sentence reminds us of *The Two Kinsmen*, II. 1. 104—106:

"All valiant uses,
(The food and nourishment of *noble minds*)
In us two here shall perish."

72. Descriptive of Milton's life at this period. It was his instinct and habit "to study and love learning for itself, not for lucre, or any other end, but the service of God and of truth, and perhaps that lasting

fame and perpetuity of praise, which God and good men have consented shall be the reward of those whose published labours advance the good of mankind," *Areopagitica*, *P. W.* II. 78.

73. *Guerdon*=recompense, whether good or bad. For the latter cf. the *Shepheards Cal. November*, *Embleme:* "the trespasse of the first man brought death into the world, as the guerdon of sinne." Shakespeare (?) has *reguerdon* as noun, 1 *Hen. VI.* III. 1. 170, and as verb, 1 *Hen. VI.* III. 4. 23. O. F. *guerdon* is a corruption of Low Lat. *widerdonum*, "a singular compound of O. H. G. *widar*, back, again, and L. *donum*, a gift" (Skeat). *Widar*=mod. G. *wieder*.

74. *Blaze*, i.e. flash of glory. Cf. *P. R.* III. 47, and for a similar figurative use the *Apology for Smectymnuus:* "let the Remonstrant thank the folly of this confuter, who could not let a private word pass but he must make all this blaze of it," *P. W.* III. 140. In Shakespeare it is always metaphorical: "blaze of youth," *All's Well*, v. 3. 6, "blaze of riot," *Richard II.* II. 1. 33. Perhaps the word was influenced by the verb *blaze*=to make public (*Romeo and Juliet*, III. 3. 151, and the A. V. *Mark* i. 45). See *Arc.* 74, and cf. Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, 98.

75. i.e. Atropos (cf. the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, 28), who strictly was one of the three Fates or Μοῖραι, not one of the Furies. Milton exercises his right to make classical mythology subserve the purposes of his verse; see *L'Al.* 1—2, *Il Pen.* 23. We may compare *Arc.* 65 where he represents the *three* Fates holding "the vital shears," which in reality were wielded by Atropos alone, according to the division of labour given in the old line *Clotho colum retinet, Lachesis net, et Atropos occat;* or the Latin piece *In Obitum Procancellarii Medici*, 37 where Persephone is made to break off the vital threads (*at fila rupit Persephone tua*).

Blind, implying that if she had seen, she would have paused. Possibly Milton was thinking of the representation in art of Fortune as a woman whose eyes are covered. Cf. *Henry V.* III. 6. 30—40.

76. *Slit*=cut, not necessarily (as now) lengthwise. Cf. the *Doctrine of Divorce;* "Now he comes to the position, which I set down whole; and, like an able textman, slits it into four," *P. W.* III. 445.

Thin-spun. Cf. Spenser, *Daphnäida*, 16—18, and the *MS.* poem attributed to Milton over which there was so much controversy:

"The thread of life untwisted is
Into its first consistencies."

But not. Supply some verb from *slits* in the previous clause: fate may cut asunder the threads of life, but she cannot *touch* or *prevent* the

praise that is a man's due. The omission of the verb marks the swiftness with which Phœbus meets the poet's complaint.

77. *Touched my trembling ears*, as a warning to stop and a reminder of something which the poet had forgotten. Taken from Vergil, *Ecl.* VI. 3. 4:

Cum canerem reges et prælia, Cynthius aurem
Vellit et admonuit;

verses which, with a slight reminiscence of Milton, Pope (see Elwin's ed. II. 41) translated almost *verbatim:*

"When first young Maro sung of kings and wars,
Ere warning Phœbus touched his trembling ears."

The action, says Conington, was a symbolical way of recalling a matter to a person's memory, the ear being regarded as the seat of memory. It was the established mode of *antestatio* or summoning a witness (Horace, *Sat.* I. 9. 77).

78. i.e. fame is not of this world: it belongs to the life after death. The thought is put more fully in ll. 81—84.

79. Understand *is: nor is fame set in*, etc. True fame, he means, does not lie in the dazzling appearance of success which a man presents to society; nor has it aught to do with popular applause and report. Rather it is a thing spiritual and unworldly in its essence. Some editors connect the clause with *lies* in the next verse.

Glistering. Milton seems to use *glister* instead of *glitter* where the sense is depreciatory. Cf. the tract *Of Reformation*, "if our understanding have a film of ignorance over it, or be blear with gazing on other false glisterings," *P. W.* II. 387; and *Eikonoklastes*, "they think all is gold of piety, that doth but glister with a show of zeal" (*P. W.* I. 376), an allusion to the proverb "all that glisters is not gold" (*Merchant of V.* II. 7. 65). See however, *Com.* 219. The word is applied to the raiment of our Lord at His transfiguration, *Luke* ix. 29.

Foil. Properly a *foil*, Fr. *feuille*, Lat. *folium*, was the gold or silver leaf placed behind a transparent gem so as to throw it into relief. Cf. Florio, "Foglia, a leafe, a sheete, a foile to set vnder precious stones;" and Bullokar's *Expositor*, "Goldfoile, a thin leafe of gold." So Cotgrave s. v. *feuille.* Shakespeare has it in this sense; cf. 1 *Hen. IV.* I. 2. 236—239, *Richard II.* I. 3. 266. Then by a natural extension of meaning it was applied—as here—to anything bright and showy.

80. *Nor in broad rumour lies.* Cf. Pope, *Essay on Man*, "What's fame, a fancied life in other's breath?"

81. *Spreads* continues the metaphor of *plant*, l. 78.

By = 'by means of;' or possibly 'hard by,' 'near,' cf. *Nat. Ode*, 60. But this does not fit in with *witness*, l. 82.

83. *Lastly*, i.e. with a final decision; cf. *Nat. Ode*, 106.

84. *Meed*, i.e. reward. Cf. Cotgrave, "Guerdon: Guerdon, recompence, meed, remuneration." Cognate with Gk *μισθός*, Gothic *mizdo*.

85. Here he returns to the main theme, taking up the pastoral style which had been in abeyance from l. 70; and as at l. 132 apologising to the pastoral Muse for his digression. "We find Milton twice [84, 132] checking himself in the conduct of the poem for having gone beyond the limits of the pastoral" (Stopford Brooke).

The fountain Arethusa, in the island of Ortygia near Syracuse, was "conventionally the pastoral fountain" (Conington). It is to her that Daphnis in the first *Idyl* of Theocritus (117) addresses part of his farewell. Being in Sicily the spring was taken to symbolise the stream of inspiration that flowed in the poetry of the Sicilian writers, Theocritus, Bion and Moschus. Thus Moschus speaking of Homer and Bion says, "Both were beloved of the fountains, and one ever drank of the Pegasæan fount, but the other (Bion) would drain a draft of Arethuse" (Lang), *Idyl.* III. 77—78. Cf. Vergil's appeal: *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem* (*Ecl.* X. 1). Milton alludes to the story of Arethusa and Alpheus (retold by Shelley) in *Arc.* 29—31.

85—86. As the spring Arethusa typified Greek pastoral verse, the Mincius is made to represent the *Eclogues* of Vergil. Cf. the Latin epigram in which the Italian poet Salzilli wrote that Vergil must give place to Milton—*cedat depressa Mincius urna*, or Crabbe's *Village*, canto I; he is condemning false pictures of rural life drawn in imitation of Vergil:

> "On Mincio's banks, in Cæsar's bounteous reign,
> If Tityrus found the Golden Age again,
> Must sleepy bards the flattering dream prolong,
> Mechanic echoes of the Mantuan song?"

Honoured, i.e. by the poetry of Vergil. Cf. *Arc.* 29, 30: "that renownèd flood, so often sung, Divine Alpheus." The Mincius falls into the Po not far from Mantua. Milton's description of the river (cf. in particular "crowned with vocal reeds") echoes the lines in the third *Georgic*, 14—15:

> *tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat*
> *Mincius et tenera prætexit arundine ripas.*

Sylvester has the epithet *smooth-sliding* in a passage (Grosart's ed. I. 100) from which Milton almost certainly borrowed in *Com.* 930, 931;

see note in Pitt Press ed., and cf. *P. L.* VIII. 302. For the earlier readings in these lines see *Appendix*.

87. *That strain*, i.e. the voice of Apollo.

Mood=character, style, the Latin *modus*. Milton glances at its technical sense in music, cf. *S. A.* 661—2: "a tune, Harsh, and of dissonant mood from his complaint." Cf. "voice of solemn mood," *Endymion*, III. *Mood*=disposition is Teutonic; cf. Germ. *muth*.

88. i.e. now I resume my pastoral story (see l. 33); the instrument stands for the poet.

89. Referring to Triton; he acted as the trumpeter or herald of the marine deities, summoning (as in Keats' *Endymion*, II.) or dismissing their assemblies with his "winding shell" (*concha*), *Com.* 873. Hence the title *Occani Tubicen* which Milton applies to him in the Latin poem *Naturam non pati senium*, 58. In *P. L.* (cf. I. 752, II. 518) Milton always uses the form *harald*. In early E. it was commonly written *heraud;* as late as 1658 we find *herauld* (Evelyn's *Diary*, Nov. 22nd, 1658). Derived through the O. F. forms *heraud* and *herault*, from O. H. Germ. *hariwald*=army-strength, a name for an officer.

90. i.e. that came to clear Neptune from the charge of having caused the death of Lycidas. Minsheu (1617) says s. v. *Plea*, "It signifieth in our Common Law, that which either partie alleageth for himself in Court;" here therefore it means the defence which Neptune makes through the mouth of Triton. Cf. *S. A.* 843. Shakespeare commonly uses *plea* of the petition or claim made by a plaintiff. From O. F. *plaid* (or *plait*, *plat*)=Late Lat. *placitum*, a decision, pleading.

91. *Felon*, because the winds are presumed to be guilty of the death of Lycidas. It is curious that there is no rhyme to *winds*.

93, 94. *Every...each*. A favourite variation with Milton; cf. *Com.* 19, "Every salt flood and each ebbing stream;" so the same poem, 311. Cf. Shakespeare, "Each passion labours so, That every present sorrow seemeth chief" (*Venus and Adonis*, 969—970). The words are treated as interchangeable in Shakespeare. Etymologically *ever-y* (Middle E. *euerich*)=*ever-each;* from A. S. *æfre*, ever, and *ælc*, each.

93. i.e. every rugged-winged gust. Cf. the picture in *P. L.* XI. 738 of the south wind "with black wings Wide-hovering." For *rugged*=rough, like *ragged*, see *L'Al.* 9.

96. i.e. Æolus, god of the winds, son of Hippotes. The name appears to be rarely used; cf. Ovid, *Met.* XIV. 224, *Æolon Hippotaden cohibentem carcere ventos*, and Homer, *Od.* X. 2. For the prison of

the winds see Vergil, *Æn.* I. 52—59; also *P. R.* IV. 413 *et seq.* *Sage* is one of Milton's perpetual epithets (like *old*, l. 36), conveying a vague notion of compliment. See *Il. Pen.* 117.

97—102. Curiously enough, the poem in the Cambridge collection by Edward King's brother implies that the vessel struck on a rock during a gale. Cf. the lines

"He, the fairest arm,
Is torn away by an unluckie storm."

Probably Henry King was better informed as to the details of the shipwreck than Milton could be. Nowhere else is there a hint that the ship was simply unseaworthy.

97—99. Cf. the fourth *Elegy* 1—8, addressed to Milton's tutor, Thomas Young, then a resident at Hamburg:

Curre per immensum subito, mea littera, pontum;
I, pete Teutonicos leve per æquor agros;

Ipse ego Sicanio frænantem carcere ventos
Æolon, et virides sollicitabo Deos,
Cæruleamque suis comitatam Dorida Nymphis,
Ut tibi dent placidam per sua regna viam.

The second couplet suggests *Lyc.* 96. Doris was one of the Nereids; and having used the name in the *Elegy* Milton might have done so here in l. 99, had it been better suited to the metre.

Level, implying that the water was smooth. But the epithet also conveys an impression of the broad expanse of sea; cf. Tennyson's *Morte d'Arthur:* "And on a sudden lo! the level lake;" so later in the same poem: "He stepping down Came on the shining levels of the lake." Cf. "flat sea" in *Com.* 375.

99. *Panope.* One of the fifty daughters (cf. "all her sisters") of Nereus; cf. *Æneid*, v. 240, *Nereidum Phorcique chorus Panopeaque virgo.*

100. So another contributor to the Cambridge volume:

"The fatall barks dark Cabbin must inshrine
That precious dust, which fate would not confine
To vulgar coffins;"

meaning that the body of King was too sacred to lie in an ordinary grave. "Fatal bark" may be a coincidence; but the verses are by the writer who has a passage (see l. 167) that strongly recalls *Lycidas.*

101. An eclipse was proverbially of evil omen, the precursor of troubles; cf. *P. L.* I. 596—599, and the *Hist. of Britain*, "The same year was an eclipse of the sun in May, followed by a sore pestilence,"

P. W. v. 287. Being an unlucky moment for beginning any lawful design it was proportionately favourable to wicked schemes. The witches' caldron in *Macbeth* IV. 1. 28 contains "Slips of yew Sliver'd in the moon's eclipse." Derived from *eclipsis*, Gk. ἔκλειψις, but often in O. E. abbreviated; cf. the *Promptorium*, "Clyppyce of the sonne or money. *Eclipsis*." So *clipsi=eclipsed* in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, 5352.

103. The river-deity Camus—representing, of course, Edward King's University—is a familiar character in the academic verse of the period, especially pastoral verse like Phineas Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogues*. Fletcher makes him speak the prologue of the *Sicelides*, a pastoral drama acted at King's College. There is a very similar picture of the river-god Jordan, personified, in Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, Grosart's ed. I. 199. In the ed. of 1638 the name is printed *Chamus;* cf. Giles Fletcher (in a description not unlike this) "vnder old Chamus flaggy banks," *Christ's Triumph after Death*, 50. Milton uses the quasi-Latin form *Came* in the *Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester*, l. 59. Mr Jerram notes that *sire* (cf. *P. L.* XI. 719) is the common title of a river treated as a protecting power. He cites *Livy* II. 10, *Tiberine pater;* so Gray, Ode on *Eton College*, III.

Went footing. Giles Fletcher (a writer whom Milton studied closely) had previously written (*Christ's Victorie on Earth*, 15):

> "At length an aged syre farre off He sawe
> Come slowely footing."

The Cam is not a rapid-flowing river.

104. For *bonnet* = a covering for the head worn by men, cf. *Merchant of V.*, I. 2. 81, or Bacon, "*Usurers* should have Orange-tawney-Bonnets," *Essay* XLI. Florio, 1598, explains Ital. *bonetto* by "a cap;" so Bullokar, 1616. Sedge is the usual adornment of river-deities, a piece of symbolism similar to the olive-branch borne by Peace. In the *Entertainments at the Coronation of James I.* Ben Jonson introduces the river-god Tamesis, with "bracelets about his wrists of willow and sedge, a crown of sedge and reed upon his head." Similar descriptions are common in the stage-directions of Masques.

105. Cf. the description of Glaucus in *Endymion*, III. Probably by "figures dim" are meant symbolical devices and representations worked in embroidery; they may have had reference to the history of Cambridge University. For *figure* used of embroidery, cf. Shakespeare, *A Lover's Complaint*, 17. This agrees well with *inwrought*. *Dim*, because faded with age. The line heightens the dignity of the representative of the University, and to increase the power of those

who mourn for Lycidas is to pay him a compliment. So the next comer, St Peter, is invested as spokesman of the Church with all the ceremony of his high office. Some interpret the "figures" of the dusky streaks which appear on withered sedge-leaves. This adds little to the suggestiveness of the picture. Most prefer the other view.

106. The sanguine flower is the hyacinth. According to the story told by Ovid, *Met.* x. 210 *et seq.*, Hyacinthus, son of the Spartan king Amyclas, was killed by Zephyrus, and from his blood sprang the flower named after him, on the petals of which could be traced the word *αἰ αἰ*. Cf. the *Epitaphium Bionis*, 6, 7, *νῦν Ὑάκινθε λαλεῖ τὰ σὰ γράμματα καὶ πλέον αἰαῖ | λάμβανε σοῖς πετάλοισι*; see lines 142 *et seq.* in *Appendix*.

108—131. "When Milton felt strongly, he wrote fiercely. The passage is a splendid and a fierce cry of wrath, and the rough trumpet note, warlike and unsparing, which it sounds against the unfaithful herdsmen and the 'grim wolf,' was to ring louder and louder through the prose works, and finally to clash in the ears of those very Presbyterians whom he now supported" (Stopford Brooke).

107. *Pledge*, i.e. child, cf. *pignus*. So in *P. L.* II. 818.

108. The solemnity with which the entrance of St Peter is heralded has something of the dramatic vividness of the stage, raising in the reader "a thrill of awestruck expectation" (Mark Pattison).

109. i.e. St Peter, regarded as the founder of the Catholic Church. He is introduced because Edward King had intended to take orders. In calling the apostle the "pilot of the Galilean *lake*" (i.e. inland sea, cf. *St Luke*, viii. 22—23) Milton may have used some mediæval belief. The title is not in the Gospels.

110. Cf. *St Matthew*, xvi. 19, "and I will give unto thee the keys of the Kingdom of heaven." That there were two keys was a tradition of the Church; and Milton has varied it very effectively, distinguishing between the metals, and attributing to one the power of exclusion. Mr Ruskin, who frequently compares Milton with Dante (to the disadvantage of the former), notes that Dante in the *Purgatorio* IX makes both keys (one of gold, the other of silver) admit to heaven; he allows that for once the superiority lies with Milton, since the right to exclude adds to the authority of St Peter (*Sesame and Lilies*, p. 45). The doctrines based by the Roman Catholic Church upon *St Matthew*, xvi. 18, 19, are discussed in Milton's *Christian Doctrine*, chap. XXIX; his views upon the special point of "the power of the keys, as it is called, or the right of binding and loosing," are such as might be expected from a strong Puritan (*P. W.* IV. 427, 428). Cf. also the allusion in *P. L.* III. 484—

485, and the *Areopagitica*, *P. W.* II. 60. Less definite is the glance at the *Apostolicæ custodia clavis* in the poem *In Quintum Novembris*, 101.

111. *The golden.* Cf. *Com.* 13, 14:

"that golden key
That opes the palace of eternity."

There is the same allusion in Ben Jonson's Masque, *The Barriers*. He is describing the figure of Truth:

"Her right hand holds a sun with burning rays,
Her left a curious bunch of golden keys,
With which heaven's gate she locketh and displays."

Gray in the *Progress of Poesy*, III. 1. invests Shakespeare with the golden keys that unlock the secrets of Tragedy and Comedy. For another reading of the phrase see Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, LXIV.

Amain, 'with force.' Cf. Sherwood's *Dict.* "Amaine. *Fort et ferme.*" In Shakespeare it almost always signifies 'with speed,' e.g. in *Comedy of Errors*, I. 1. 93, "two ships from far making amain to us." *A*=preposition *on* (see *L'Al.* 20, note): *main*=A. S. *mægen*, strength.

112. *Mitred.* Cf. Pope's *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, "Even mitred Rochester would nod the head."

Bespake; see *Nat. Ode*, 76.

113—131. We are not justified in assuming that this passage is directed against the established Church as a whole. A few years later Milton would have said that the charges were true of all the Clergy: here he limits them to a certain section ("enow of *such*"), though possibly a large section, whom he condemns because: (i) They enter the Church by unworthy means, for unworthy ends, to gain preferment, to enjoy well-being: it is no love of religion that brings them there, ll. 114—118. (ii) They are ignorant, blind leaders of the blind, ll. 119—124. (iii) They are indifferent about their duties, and incompetent to fulfil them, and leave the people without due teaching, ll. 122—125. (iv) They allow false doctrines to spread, ll. 126—127. (v) They do not check perversions to the Roman Catholic Church, 128—129. All these charges are put far more strongly in his prose-tracts; and the imagery of the lines, even the language, might be illustrated by endless quotations.

114—115. This censure of those who are induced to take orders by desire of money comes with special significance from the lips of St Peter; cf. 1 *Peter* v. 2. Milton's objection to a ministry paid by the State forms the subject of one of the last of his tracts, *The Likeliest Means*. There the gist of his opinions is, that ministers should be recompensed "not by civil law and freehold, as they claim, but by the

benevolence and free gratitude of such as receive them;" in other words, that they should depend on voluntary gifts, *P. W.* III. 31. In the treatise *Of Christian Doctrine*, chap. XXXI., he thinks that they might also follow some trade, and support themselves "by the exercise of some calling, by some industry, after the example of the prophets," *P. W.* IV. 461. Here, in *Lycidas*, his views are less extreme: the clergyman who does his duty ("the faithful herdsman") is entitled to receive his reward: the censure falls on those who care for nothing but their stipends, and neglect their work. For other references to the subject cf. the sonnet on Cromwell, 13—14, *P. L.* IV. 192, 193, XII. 508—511.

115. Milton chooses words that distinguish the three types of men he has in view—those who enter the Church in a stealthy, underhand way ("creep"), those who thrust themselves in with self-assertion ("intrude"), and those who are full of ambition to climb into high places. Cf. the *Remonstrant's Defence*, "They (i.e. the prelates) used to *climb* into their livings and bishoprics," *P. W.* III. 73; the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, "If they (the clergy), for lucre, use to *creep* into the Church undiscernibly, the more wisdom will it be so to provide that no revenue there may exceed the golden mean," III. 164; and the *Likeliest Means*, "If they...*intrude* into the ministry without any livelihood of their own, they cast themselves into miserable hazard or temptation," III. 25. See an interesting criticism of the whole passage in *Sesame and Lilies*, pp. 38, 39.

116. i.e. make little account of any other duty. Anticipated in *Com.* 642, "but little reckoning made." In the English of this period *reck*=to care, from A. S. *récan*, is a very common word.

117. When Milton wrote, the shearing feast was an institution regularly observed. Cf. Spenser's *Astrophel*, 32. There are similar allusions in Herrick, whose *Hesperides* paints the rural life of England at that time. Cf. his poem *The Country Life*, Grosart's ed. II. 214.

118. Referring to the parable of the marriage of the king's son, *Matt.* xxii. 1—9 (cf. v. 8, "they which were bidden were not worthy").

119—121. In the prose-writings the ignorance of the clergy is often insisted on. Cf. *Eikonoklastes:* "For our religion, when was there a more ignorant, profane, and vicious clergy, learned in nothing but the antiquity of their pride, their covetousness and superstition?" *P. W.* I. 382. Again, in the *Likeliest Means* he describes them as "furnished with little else but ignorance, boldness, and ambition," *P. W.* III. 35; and elsewhere (*Apology for Smectymnuus*) complains that they know scarce any Latin, less Greek, and (with few exceptions) no Hebrew

(*P. W.* III. 155). Of course, these lines imply that Edward King was a true scholar. Several of the other contributors to the Cambridge volume celebrate his learning in varying degrees of extravagant praise. Hitherto, says Cleveland, the sea had lacked

"Books, arts and tongues...but in thee
Neptune hath got an Universitie;"

a 'conceit' echoed by another writer:

"Nor did it seem one private man to die,
But a well-ordered Universitie."

119. *Blind mouths.* The seeming incongruity disappears if we interpret *mouths*=gluttons. The editors compare *gula*, e.g. in Horace, *Sat.* II. 2. 40, *Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus.* Cf. γαστέρες ἀργαί in the epistle to *Titus*, I. 12 (illustrated in Cowley's essay *Of Liberty*, Pitt Press ed. 75). The 'blindness' is spiritual; cf. Milton's expression of his view of the bishops: "for near twelve hundred years, to speak of them in general, they have been in England to our souls a sad and doleful succession of illiterate and blind guides," *Of Reformation*, *P. W.* II. 411.

120. The sheep-hook (cf. *The Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 430, 431), in accordance with the imagery that runs throughout, represents the pastoral staff of the Church in its character of the Good Shepherd. Cf. Sylvester, *St Lewis the King:*

"In the flock of Christ's *Redeemed dear*
Bear th' holy *Sheep-hook's* sacred burthen."

So Milton again in the tract *Of Reformation*, "let him advise how he can reject the pastorly rod and sheep-hook of Christ," *P. W.* II. 412.

Herdman=shepherd, as perhaps in *The Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 446. For the form cf. *Venus and Adonis* 456, retained in the *Globe* ed., which in other places, e.g. *Coriolanus*, II. 1. 105, prints *herdsman.*

122. Shakespeare always uses *reck* personally; e.g. in *Hamlet*, I. 3. 51, "he recks not his own rede." So Milton in *P. L.* IX. 173. For the impersonal use, as here, cf. *Com.* 404.

Sped=accounted for, done with, whether in a good or bad sense. Here the former is required; in Shakespeare the latter is invariable. Cf. the *Merchant of V.*, II. 9. 72, "so be gone: you are sped," i.e. dispatched. Elsewhere in Milton to *speed*='to fare:' "these that have already sped according to their fortune," *Reason of Church Government*, *P. W.* II. 482; or 'to succeed', as in *Eikonoklastes*, "In this war against the Church, if he had sped so as other haughty monarchs," *P. W.* I.

436. What Milton means is that the clergy are so well provided for as never to need or lack anything.

123. *When they list,* implying that they only preached when they chose. Newton notes how the sound suits the sense in 123, 124.

List. Cf. *P. L.* II. 798, 799, "for, when they list, into the womb That bred them they return." *List* = please; cf. *St John* iii. 8. The cognate word *lust* (in earlier E. not offensive in meaning as now) was used in the same way; cf. *Psalm* xxxiv. 12, "What man is he that lusteth to live?" (*Prayer Book*). In the tract *Of Reformation* Milton has *list* as a noun = desire: "I have done it neither out of malice, nor list to speak evil," *P. W.* II. 372. Cf. Germ. *lust, lüsten.*

Lean i.e. yielding no nourishment, discourses devoid of spiritual sustenance. Cf. the *Apology for Smectymnuus*, where he speaks of the liturgy of the Church as being "in conception lean and dry, of affections empty and unmoving; of passion destitute and barren," *P. W.* III. 158. Ascham has the same metaphor in the *Scholemaster:* "Some, I say,...do frame them selues a style cold, leane, and weake, though the matter be neuer so warme and earnest," p. 160 (Bohn's ed.).

Flashy, tasteless. Cf. the *Doctrine of Divorce*, "we are come to his farewell, which is to be a study of his jabberment in law, the flashiest and the fustiest that ever corrupted," *P. W.* III. 459. Bacon has *flashy* in the same sense, Essay *On Studies*, and *flashiness* = insipidity, *Nat. Hist.* Strictly *flashy* = watery, being connected with O. E. *flasshe*, a pool; cf. O. F. *flache* or *flasque*. Quite distinct from the modern word *flashy* = showy, from the verb *flash*.

No doubt, to some extent the lines reflect on the lack not only of moral worth in the sermons preached, but also of literary grace and polish: "how few," says Milton, "among them (the clergy) that know to write or speak in a pure style," *Apology for Smectymnuus.*

124. An imitation of Vergil's *stridenti stipula disperdere carmen*, *Ecl.* III. 27. There has been much debate as to the origin and meaning of *scrannel*. According to some editors it is a Lancashire word = meagre, thin; this would carry on the metaphor of *lean* in l. 123. Jamieson (*Scottish Language*) is inclined to connect it with Scotch *scrae*, 'a cross-grained person,' and *scrannie*, 'an old, ill-natured woman.' Might it, however, be a provincial word, formed by nasalisation from *scrape?* The *Imperial Dict.* quotes (without reference) from Carlyle, "to twang harps for thee, and blow through scrannel pipes." Cf. also a letter by him in Lord Houghton's *Life*, 265: "Like a 'chapped flute,' which you steep in the ditch until it close again and become a whole flute or scrannel."

This sentence makes us think that Carlyle could really have explained *scrannel:* if a Scotch word, as Jamieson suggests, it might have been familiar to him.

125. Cf. the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 66, 67:

ovium quoque tædet, at illæ
Mœrent, inque suum convertunt ora magistrum.

The sheep neglected by their shepherd are a traditional feature in the landscape of pastoral poetry; cf. Matthew Arnold's *The Scholar-Gipsy*, "No longer leave thy wistful flock unfed." In the *Remonstrant's Defence* Milton says that the prelates "have fed themselves and not their flocks," *P. W.* III. 87.

126. The "rank mist" is the false doctrine, or what Milton as a Puritan considered false. Cf. *Eikonoklastes*, "whose unsincere and leavenous doctrine"—he is speaking of the Clergy—"corrupting the people, first taught them looseness, then bondage; loosening them from all sound knowledge and strictness of life, the more to fit them for the bondage of tyranny and superstition," *P. W.* I. 382. So *P. L.* XII. 511—514. *Rank*=noisome, pestilential.

Draw, i.e. breathe. Mr Jerram compares *Lucretius*, VI. 1129:

Et cum spirantes mixtas hinc ducimus auras.

Cf. *S. A.* 7, "scarce freely draw the air."

128, 129. It seems to be generally agreed that Milton refers to the system of proselytism then carried on by the Roman Catholic party in England. Perversions were numerous, especially in this very year 1637, and the "grim wolf" would be readily identified with the Church of Rome. By "*privy* paw" is intended the measure of secrecy with which the proselytisers acted. It may be added that the last work Milton published, the tract *Of True Religion*, 1673, was directed "against the growth of Popery." Some editors, notably Newton and Warton, believe that the "wolf" is Laud, who had been archbishop since 1632, and who through the Court of High Commission was then enforcing severe pains and penalties against the Puritans. "Our author," says Warton, "anticipates the execution of Archbishop Laud, by a *two-handed engine*, that is, the axe; insinuating that his death would remove all grievances in religion, and complete the reformation of the Church." But this is to explain by the light of after-events. Milton could scarcely have foreseen in 1637 the death of the primate (in 1645); and even if this had been his meaning it would not have been clear to others, or if clear, would not have been permitted to appear in a volume published by the University Press. Further, the operations of Laud and the High Church

party were not "privy:" there was only too much openness about them. See Masson's *Life of Milton*, I. 638.

With privy paw. Cf. the sonnet to Cromwell, 13, 14:

"Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose Gospel is their maw."

Milton does not use *privy* (*privatus*) elsewhere. Cotgrave has "Secret: Secret, inward, privie, close."

129. *And nothing said.* i.e. without opposition from the prelates. Masson shows that the charge is not true of Laud, who much objected to the perversions, and endeavoured to stop them. There may also, as Mr Jerram argues, be an imputation on the Court; for the Queen, a Roman Catholic, was known to favour very strongly the cause of her own Church, and the King was suspected of having at the least considerable sympathy with it. See Heylyn's *Life of Laud*, 1668, pp. 358—361.

130, 131. There have been many explanations of the "two-handed engine," and if I might add to them, I would suggest that the sword of Justice is meant. Cf. the *Tenure of Kings*, "be he king, or tyrant, or emperor, the sword of Justice is above him;" and the same work, "they plead for him, pity him...protest against those that talk of bringing him to the trial of justice, which is the sword of God, superior to all mortal things," *P. W.* II. pp. 4, 8. Cf. *Othello*, v. 2. 17. True, Milton does not here introduce the word *Justice*, but the drift of the passage is, that the power of just retribution will execute vengeance, and the instrument used might well be the sword that hangs over wrong-doers. The "engine" has also been identified with (i) the axe that is "laid unto the root of the trees," *St Matthew* iii. 10, *St Luke* iii. 9, a metaphor denoting "thorough and sweeping reformation" (Jerram), and therefore, it must be allowed, quite appropriate to the present context: (ii) the "two-edged sword" of the *Revelation*, i. 16: (iii) the axe with which Laud was beheaded; see ll. 128, 129, *supra*: (iv) the sword of St Michael; see *P. L.* II. 294, 295, and VI. 250—253, where Milton again uses the epithet *two-handed*, a reminiscence of these lines.

Two-handed, i.e. wielded with both hands. Milton remembered 2 *Hen. VI.* II. 1. 46, "come with thy two-hand sword." Masson finds here a hint at the two Houses of Parliament. The Long Parliament met two years later.

For *engine* in the general sense of *instrument* cf. *The Reason of Church Government*, "such engines of terror God hath given into the hand of his minister, as to search the tenderest angle of the heart,"

P. W. II. 498. In the early translations of the Bible it is used of implements of war. Mayhew (*Select Gloss.*) quotes 2 *Chron.* xxvi. 15, in the Douay (1609) version, "He made in Jerusalem engines of diverse kind." So the Authorised V. in *Jeremiah* vi. 6, *Ezek.* xxvi. 9; so Shakespeare, *Tempest*, II. I. 161, and Milton several times in *P. L.*, e.g. II. 923, VI. 484. From O. F. *engin*, Ital. *ingegno*, Lat. *ingenium*.

At the door=ready at hand; from *St Matt.* xxiv. 33, "know that it is near, even at the doors." Cf. the *Remonstrant's Defence*, "thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou standing at the door."

131. i.e. the blow when it does fall will be final.

132. As after a previous digression (see l. 85), he recalls the rural Muse. Alpheus was the lover of Arethusa, and like her symbolises pastoral verse, so that "shrunk thy streams" is a figurative way of saying "checked the course of my pastoral strain."

133. *Shrunk* i.e. like a summer drought, making the waters of the river fall. For the causal use see *Nat. Ode*, 203, and cf. 3 *Hen. VI.* III. 2. 156:

> "She did corrupt frail nature with some bribe,
> To shrink mine arm up like a wither'd shrub."

Sicilian Muse. Cf. Vergil's *Sicelides Musæ, Ecl.* IV. 1. So Pope (addressing the Thames), "While on thy banks Sicilian Muses sing," *Spring*, 4. At l. 85 the invocation was twofold—to Vergil (cf. "smooth-sliding Mincius"), no less than to Theocritus ("O fountain Arethuse"). If we are here to press *Sicilian* we must suppose that Milton considered the long 'flower passage' which follows to be more in the style of the *Idyls* than the *Eclogues*. Perhaps, however, as Mr Jerram thinks, the epithet is a general title of pastoral poetry. Cf. the *Epitaphium Damonis* 1—3, for Cowper's rendering of which see l. 14, note.

133—141. Wordsworth in the poem *Margaret* defends the poetic practice of calling on inanimate nature to join in lament for the dead:

> "The Poets, in their elegies and songs
> Lamenting the departed, call the groves,
> They call upon the hills and streams to mourn,
> And senseless rocks; nor idly; for they speak,
> In these their invocations, with a voice
> Obedient to the strong creative power
> Of human passion;"

i.e. the passion (or 'pathetic fallacy,' as Ruskin calls it) which enables us to read our emotions into dead things. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* IX. 43.

134. *Hither*, as though he pointed to the "laureate hearse."

135. Of the flowers afterwards enumerated the cowslip at least could claim to have 'bells.' Cf. Ariel's "In a cowslip's bell I lie," *Tempest*, v. 89. *Cup* in l. 150 has the same sense. The *Glosse* to the *Shepheards Cal.*, *November*, explains: "*Flouret*, a diminutive for a little floure." Cf. *Midsummer N. D.* IV. 1. 60, "orient pearls Stood now within the pretty *flowerets' eyes*."

136. *Use*=haunt; cf. Sylvester:

"Climb day and night the double-topped mount,
Where the Pierian learned maidens use."

137. The radical meaning of wanton is 'unrestrained.' It is a favourite word with Milton, implying non-restraint of various kinds: of conduct, i.e. 'loose,' 'light,' and then 'lascivious;' of growth, i.e. 'luxuriant,' cf. "wanton growth," in *P. L.* IV. 629, IX. 211; of movement, i.e. 'tossing about,' cf. *P. L.* IV. 306, or 'roving at will.' The last seems the sense here: it is the idea of the wind blowing where it lists. Cf. "wanton air" in *Love's L. L.* IV. 3. 104. Shakespeare uses "wanton wind" in *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 129, but there *wanton*= 'lustful.' The full form is *wantowen;* cf. *wantowe* in the *Promptorium; wan* (cf. Dutch prefix, *wan-*) being a negative prefix, expressing lack, deficiency; and *towen*=*togen*, the past part. of A. S. *téon*, to draw, or educate (akin to Lat. *ducere*). *Wanton* therefore naturally got the meaning 'untrained' or 'ill-restrained.' Similar compounds quoted by Mayhew and Skeat are *wan-beleue*=*perfidia*, in the *Promptorium; wan-hope*=despair; *wan-trust*=dis-trust, Chaucer, *Maunciples Tale*, 177.

138. Cf. *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 107, 108:

"hoary-headed frosts
Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose."

Cf. the *Song on May Morning*, 3.

Swart star=the Dog-star, Sirius, *canis æstifer*, Verg. G. II. 533. Cf. the "singèd air" of *Com.* 928, and the poem *In Quintum Novembris*, 180. Sir Thomas Browne treats of "the Canicular or Dog days" in the fourth book, chap. XIII, of his *Vulgar Errors*. *Swart*, or *swarthy*, from A. S. *sweart*, meant 'very dark.' Cf. Cotgrave, "Fusque: Duskie, brown, swart, tawny;" and Minsheu, "Swart, somewhat Blacke." In Shakespeare it is always said of dark complexions, e.g. in *Comedy of Errors*, III. 2. 104, *Titus*, II. 3. 72. The use here is appropriate, because strictly the word signifies 'darkened by heat,' and that, Milton implies, is what the flowers would be after the dog-star had

'looked' on them. Keats may have remembered the verse when he wrote "Swart planet in the universe of deeds."

Looks. Warton is probably right in thinking that *looks* refers to the astrological theory of the *influence* exercised by the *aspects* of the stars; cf. *The Winter's Tale*, II. I. 105—107:

"There's some ill planet reigns:
I must be patient till the heavens *look*
With an *aspect* more favourable."

See *Nat. Ode*, 71; cf. *Arc.* 51.

139. For *quaint* ('fanciful') see *Nat. Ode*, 194. *Enamelled.* i.e. variegated and glossy as enamel-work. A favourite epithet with Milton, as with other writers of this period, especially Herrick. Cf. *P. L.* IV. 149 (used of fruits and flowers); *P. L.* IX. 525 (of a serpent's neck, cf. *Midsummer N. D.* II. I. 255); *Arc.* 84 (of a lawn); and *Nat. Ode*, 143, as the line stands in the 1645 ed. In a note on the *Promptorium*, p. 260, Way says that "the application of enamel to every description of ornamental work in metal was much used in England:" this may explain why *enamelled* became a kind of poetic tradition. Mr Ruskin remarks on its frequent misuse, *Modern Painters*, III. 229. Derived from *en*=on, Lat. *in*, and O. E. *amellen;* cf. O. F. *esmailler*, mod. *émailler*, Ital. *smaltare*, Germ. *schmelzen.* The underlying notion in *enamel* is 'something fused, smelted.'

141. *Purple=impurple;* cf. *P. L.* III. 364, "impurpled with celestial roses." The sense is 'to make brilliant,' *purple* with Milton, as with Gray, being equivalent to *purpureus* i.e. dazzling or rich of hue. In Shakespeare it is often applied to blood; cf. *Lucrece*, 1734.

142—150. This device of enumerating a number of flowers belongs as much to the pastoral style as did the invocation to the Muses, or the rural imagery of lines 25—36. There is no need to suppose that Milton directly imitated the *Shepheards Cal., April.* Of the many similar passages which might be quoted here is one from Ben Jonson's pastoral Masque, *Pan's Anniversary;* it has the merit of having escaped the editors. Several nymphs are dressing the altar of Pan while a shepherd looks on with approval:

"Well done, my pretty ones, rain roses still,
Until the last be dropped: then hence, and fill
Your fragrant prickles for a second shower.
Bring corn-flag, tulips, and Adonis flower,
Fair ox-eye, goldy-locks, and columbine,
Pinks, goulands, king-cups and sweet sops-in-wine,

Blue harebells, pagles, pansies, calaminth,
Flower-gentle, and the fair-haired hyacinth;
Bring rich carnations, flower-de-luces, lilies,
The chequed and purple-ringèd daffodillies;"

and so on through six more verses, mentioning eleven other flowers. In a well-known passage of *Modern Painters* Mr Ruskin contrasts Milton's lines with those in the *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 118—127. The gist of the criticism is, that in Shakespeare the description is imaginative, giving us the essential characteristic of each flower, but in Milton fanciful, or even fantastic. Roughly speaking the difference is that between the poet who goes straight to nature, and the poet who knows nature mainly through the medium of books.

142—150. A much corrected passage; see *Appendix*.

142. Cf. Wordsworth's poem *To May*:

"Such greeting heard, away with sighs
For lilies that must fade,
Or 'the rathe primrose' as it 'dies
Forsaken' in the shade."

Rathe i.e. early, as the name, *prima rosa*, implies. Bacon includes it among flowers that bloom in "the latter part of January, and February." *Rathe* is not uncommon in old writers; cf. *Shepheards Cal. Julye*, and *December* ("my harvest hastened all to rathe"). According to a correspondent of *N. and Q.* 7th s. 4. 18, *rathe and late* = early and late "is in common use in Gloucestershire and the borders thereof." *Rathe* survives in Dorsetshire also; cf. Barnes' *Poems in the Dorset Dialect:*

"When light or dark,
So brisk's a lark,
I'm up so rathe in mornèn."

Properly it meant 'quick,' 'soon,' from A. S. *hræð* or *hræd:* hence figuratively *rather* = sooner, and *rathest* = soonest; for the latter, now obsolete, cf. Bacon's *Colours of Good and Evill.* Newton observes that most of the flowers mentioned, being early flowers, are "suited to the age of Lycidas."

Forsaken, i.e. a type of the flowers that "blush unseen." Cf. Wordsworth's lines *To the Celandine:*

"While the patient Primrose sits
Like a beggar in the cold."

Matthew Arnold somewhere calls primroses "orphans of the flowery prime." In the *Cambridge MS* the passage reads thus;

"Bring the rathe primrose that unwedded dies
Colouring the pale cheeke of uninjoyd love;"

lines inspired by the *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 122—124:

"pale primroses,
That die unmarried, ere they can behold
Bright Phœbus in his strength."

Probably Milton made the correction because his debt to Shakespeare was too conspicuous: even the epithet *pale* was not original, cf. 2 *Hen. VI.* III. 2. 63, *Cymbeline*, IV. 2. 221. In the *Song on May Morning* he had been less scrupulous. The notion of the Sun being in love with certain flowers is often alluded to; cf. the description in the *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 105, 106, of the marigold.

143. The *crow-toe* is identified by most editors with the *crowflower*, but Gerarde and Lyte treat it as a kind of hyacinth. Lyte (*Herball*, 1578) mentions two sorts of hyacinth, "the common" and "the Oriental," and says: "These are called in Greeke ὑακίνθοι: in Latine Hyacinthi...in Englishe also Hyacinthe or Crowtoes," p. 206. The index to Gerarde has "Crowtoes, that is Hyacinthes."

Pale; he was probably thinking of the white jessamine, the commonest kind, according to Gerarde who says that the word may be written "Jasmine, Gessemine and Jesse," *Herbal*, p. 745. From Arabic *iâsmin*. Cowley (essay on *The Garden*) wrote *jasmin*, the form used in Spanish and French.

144. Cf. *Com.* 851. Gerarde mentions several varieties of the white pink, e.g. "white wilde jagged pinkes," p. 475, the "white Mountaine Pinke," p. 476, and (p. 473) a garden pink of the same colour, which may have been the one Milton meant, if indeed he meant any in particular. The flower was typical of purity; cf. the *Two Kinsmen*, II. 4. Perhaps Milton remembered this.

Gerarde speaks of the pansy as "in English Harts Ease...Liue in Idlenes" (cf. "*love*-in-idleness," *Midsummer N. D.* II. 1. 168), "cull me to you, and three faces in one hood" (p. 705). From Fr. *pensée;* the flower therefore of thought or remembrance, *Hamlet*, IV. 5. 178.

Freaked i.e. variegated or spotted; etymologically = *freckled*, which Shakespeare uses in a similar way, "the freckled cowslip," *Hen. V.* V, 2. 49. From Icelandic *frekna*, Middle E. *frakne* = a freckle.

145. Contrast "violets *dim*," *Winter's Tale*, IV. 4. 120.

146. Cf. Gerarde: "the Muske Rose...called *Rosa Moschata*, of the smell of Muske: in Italian *Rosa Moschetta:* in French *Roses Musques*, or *Muscadelles*" (p. 1086). He classes it among varieties as to which

he is "indifferent whether to make them of the wilde Roses, or of the tame." Lyte (*Herball*, p. 760) mentions another name for it in French viz. *Rose de Damas*, as well as its Latin titles *Rosa Sera* and *Rosa Autumnalis*.

Well-attired. The metaphor may be that of *attire*, the noun, in its ordinary sense, cf. Milton's sonnet "To Mr Laurence," 6—7; or of *attire* = *tire*, i.e. head dress, also a common meaning, cf. *Leviticus* xvi. 4, "with the linen mitre shall he be attired." It is impossible to say what plant Milton intended by *woodbine*. Gerarde and Lyte identify honeysuckle and woodbine: so apparently does Shakespeare, *Much Ado*, III. 1. 8, 30; yet in *Midsummer N. D.* IV. 1. 47 they are distinguished, the woodbine being treated as the same as bind-weed, a kind of convolvulus. Cf. too Minsheu, "*Woodbinde*, so called of binding the wood... and therefore also called *Binde-weede* or *Withie-winde*." Honeysuckle appears to suit the context best; so in *P. L.* IX. 216.

147. Giles Fletcher has the line, "The Jew hung down his pensiue head," *Christ's Triumph*, 39. *Wan*, 'pale,' does not seem very applicable to the cowslip; contrast the *Song on May Morning*, where Milton may have recalled *Midsummer N. D.* V. 339.

148. For *sad* = sober, see *Il Pen.* 43. Cf. Tennyson, "rare broidery of the purple clover," *A Dirge*. Elsewhere Milton speaks of the ground being *embroidered* (Com. 233), or *broidered* (*P. L.* IV. 702) with flowers. *Broider* = O. F. *broder*, which Brachet treats as a doublet of *border*, because embroidery was done on the edge i.e. F. *bord*. Skeat, however, thinks that *broder* may be Celtic, comparing the Breton word *bronda* to pierce with a *brond*, or goad.

149. *Amaranthus*, "the fadeless bloom" (Shelley, *Prometheus*, II. 4); a type of immortality, because ἀμάραντος. Unluckily "there are no fields of amaranth on this side of the grave" (Landor's *Dialogue* on "Death and Immortality"); as Milton tells us in *P. L.* III. 352—359, the plant only "lives and spreads aloft" in heaven. Cf. Tennyson, *Romney's Remorse*.

150. *Daffadillies*. For the form cf. the *Shepheards Cal. April*, which also has *daffadowndillies*. *Daffodil* is a corruption of *asphodel*, ἀσφόδελος. The Middle E. form was *affodille* from Low Lat. *affodillus*. The *d* may have been inserted through the French *fleur d'affrodille*. Gerarde, after enumerating many varieties, says, "generally all the kindes are comprehended vnder this name *Narcissus*," p. 114. He describes "the cup or crowne" of the "rush daffodil," p. 112.

151. Bullokar's *Expositor* has, "Laureate, crowned with laurell."

Milton uses it in one other place, the sonnet to Cromwell, where the sense is 'made of laurel.' Of course the laurels are the poems (cf. l. 1, note) of Milton and his fellow-contributors, and the force of the line was more apparent then than it is now, since it was customary to attach memorial stanzas to a hearse. Sometimes they were fastened with wax: hence "*waxen* epitaph" in *Hen. V.* I. 2. 233, where Mr Aldis Wright notes that the practice did not die out till late in the last century. Perhaps the most celebrated piece of poetic eulogy of this type ever composed was Ben Jonson's epitaph on the Countess of Pembroke, "Underneath this marble hearse;" see Gifford's *Ben Jonson*, IX. 58, where the custom is explained at length. Cf. also *Much Ado*, V. 1. 293.

Hearse here means the framework of wood on which the coffin rested; for this not unusual sense of the word cf. the account in Sandford's *Genealogical Hist.*, p. 392, of the funeral of Edward IV: "from thence they passed to the new church where in the quire was ordained a marvellous well-wrought Herse being that night watched with a goodly company of Nobles." Derived from Lat. *hirpex*, a harrow, *hearse* originally meant a triangular frame, shaped like a harrow, for holding lights at a church service, especially the services in Holy week: every parish was bound to provide the *hercia ad tenebras* (i.e. the service called *tenebræ*). Later *hearse* was applied to the illumination at a funeral, then to the funeral pageant, and afterwards to almost everything connected with a funeral. Thus it could signify the dead body, the coffin (cf. *hearsed*, *Hamlet*, I. 4. 47), the pall covering it, the funeral car (as always in modern E.), the funeral service (cf. the *Shepheards Cal. November*, with the *Glosse*), and the grave; also any solemn service (*F. Q.* III. 2. 48). See Way's *Promptorium*, p. 236.

Lycid. Spenser has this shortened form, *Colin Clout*, 907.

152—164. The construction of this passage is not very regular. Practically there is only one main verb, viz. *let* in l. 153—"let our thoughts dally whilst" etc.; then come a series of clauses dependent on their respective conjunctions, *whilst*, *whether*, *where;* and at the end two imperatives are introduced by a kind of parenthesis. The train of thought, however, connected with that of the previous passage, ll. 142—151, is clear: 'let us strew the hearse with flowers: let us, to ease our grief, play with the false notion (*surmise*) that the body of Lycidas is covered by those flowers: though in reality alas! it is being borne in its "wandering grave," perhaps northwards to the Hebrides, perhaps south to the Land's End.' See Warton's note.

153. *Dally*, i.e. trifle: "Let us not dally with God when he offers us a full blessing," *Of Reformation*, *P. W.* II. 410. Originally it meant 'to talk:' cf. the *Promptorium*, "Dalyn' or talkyn'. *Fabulor, confabulor, colloquor.*" Later came the sense 'to play,' whence 'to trifle,' whence again 'to delay;' as in *The Reason of Church Government*, "some stand dallying and deferring to reform," *P. W.* II. 470. For *surmise* = 'fancy,' cf. *Lucrece*, 1579.

154. Altered in the *MS* from *floods* to *shoars*. Strictly *shores* does not fit well with *wash;* but taken closely with *sounding seas* it gives us a vivid picture of the body dashed from coast to coast, as though land and sea were leagued against it. *King John*, I. 1. 105 may have been in Milton's memory.

157. For the reading in the 1638 ed. (see *Appendix*) cf. Phineas Fletcher, *Piscatorie Eclogues*, II. 17, "humming rivers by his cabin creeping;" or, *Pericles*, III. 1. 64, "humming water must *o'erwhelm* thy corpse." Perhaps *o'erwhelm* afterwards suggested *whelming*.

158. i.e. the world of monsters. Cf. "monstrous rout" in *Com.* 533. The adjective does the duty of the first part of a compound word.

159. *Vows* = funeral rites; *moist* i.e. with tears.

160. *Fable of Bellerus* = fabled Bellerus; cf. *P. L.* II. 963—66:

> "And by them stood
> Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
> Of Demogorgon;"

i.e. Demogorgon himself. By Bellerus is meant one of the Cornish giants; the name, however, was invented by Milton from *Bellerium* = the Land's End. The *Cambridge MS* has "*Corineus* old." In the *Hist. of Britain* (where he accepts the tradition that Albion was conquered by descendants of the Trojans) Milton speaks of Corineus as a warrior who came from Italy with Brutus (the great-grandson of Æneas), helped to subdue Albion, and received as his share Cornwall, "as now we call it," *P. W.* v. 172—174. See note on *Com.* 826, and cf. the poem *Mansus*, 46, *carminibus lætis memorant Corinëida Loxo.* Cf. also *The Morning Muse of Thestylis*, 31, and *F. Q.* II. 10. 12:

> "In meed of these great conquests by them gott,
> Corineus had that Province utmost west
> To him assigned for his worthy lott."

For *old* as a title of respect, see l. 36, note.

The *guarded mount* is St Michael's Mount, off Penzance. Though Milton does not mention the name the allusion would be easily understood, for, as Spenser says in the *Shepheards Cal. Julye:*

"St Michel's Mount who does not know,
That wardes the Westerne coste?"

Cowley in his *Essays* calls it "the Mount in Cornwall," p. 20, or "the Cornish Mount," p. 82 (Pitt Press ed.). Upon it was a craggy seat called *St Michael's Chair* (other names for it being "the grey rock" or "the hoare rock in the wood"), in which tradition said that apparitions (i.e. *Visions*) of the archangel had been witnessed. Milton speaks as though the Vision were always there, with gaze directed westward to the Spanish coast. For other references to the same legend, see Polwhele's *History of Cornwall*, I. 66—67, II. 125—128.

Guarded=protected by the presence of the angel; or the sense might be 'fortified.' There was a fortress on the hill, ruins of which remain; see Bacon's account of Perkin Warbeck and the Cornish rising in 1496, *Hist. of Hen. VII.* p. 167 (Pitt Press ed.).

162. Namancos is (or was) in Galicia, close to the coast and a little east of Cape Finisterre. Todd was the first to discover it in editions of *Mercator's Atlas* published in 1623 and 1636. I cannot find it in an earlier issue dated 1606, nor is it given by either Ortelius or Heylyn. It appears also to have been omitted in all the maps published after the middle of the century. It is worth noting that the 1636 ed. of *Mercator* was the first printed in England, the letter-press being translated; and it may have been from this recent source that Milton, writing *Lycidas* in 1637, first became acquainted with the existence of Namancos. Even there Namancos is not marked in the general map of Spain, but only in the special one which illustrates the "Description of Gallicia," II. 347.

Formerly it was usual in designing large atlases to mark important places not only by name, but also by some illustration of a castle or fortress etc. Now in the edition just mentioned Namancos figures as *Namancos T* (i.e. *Turris*), which suggests that it was not a town but a fortress; it may afterwards have been destroyed and this would account for its disappearance from later maps. Also it is illustrated by a conspicuous drawing of a tower: did this catch Milton's eye?

In an earlier edition of his *Milton* Todd had suggested that the reference was to Numantia, "Bayona's hold" being identified with the French Bayonne. But geographically this was impossible.

Bayona, south of Namancos, on the sea, is marked in all the larger maps of that time, e.g. in those that illustrate the *Thesaurus Geographicus* (1596), and *Thesaurus Orbis Terrarum* (1600), of Ortelius; and Heylyn in his *Cosmography*, speaking of Galicia, says, "Places of principal importance are...*Baiona*, not far from the mouth of the River Minio,"

lib. I. p. 222 (1682 ed.). In the 1636 ed. of *Mercator* its site is indicated by the striking outline of a castle: hence "Bayona's *hold*."

I think we can now make a good guess how it was that Milton came to introduce these names, which occasioned much trouble to his earlier editors. First, he made the great Vision look towards Spain because this was a literary tradition. Drayton had already written:

"Then Cornwal creepeth out into the Westerne maine,
As lying in her eye she pointeth still at Spaine,"

Polyolbion, *Song* 23.

The great rock bade defiance to the Spaniard; the idea may have dated from the days of the Armada, and Milton used it as others had done. But a reference to Spain in general terms would not be so effective as the mention of special places; the trick of using sonorous names is a favourite one with poets. Milton therefore would require the names of some places on the northern coast of Spain, at the point nearest to the Land's End; this was Galicia. He would turn to an atlas, and it is a fair conjecture that the particular atlas consulted was the 1636 ed. of *Mercator*, since there was no other (so far as we know) in which Namancos was marked. In this atlas a special map is devoted to Galicia; in it, of the places indicated along the sea-bord, Namancos and Bayona—the one with its tower, the other with its fortress—were quite the most conspicuous. Milton's eye would light on them at once: the names have a noble ring: what more could he desire?

163. *Angel*, i.e. St Michael. Warton paraphrases the line thus: "Oh angel, look no longer seaward to Namancos and Bayona's hold: rather turn your eyes to another object: look homeward or landward; look towards your own coast now, and view with pity the corpse of the shipwrecked Lycidas, floating thither." Some editors think that Lycidas is the Angel; but there is an obvious antithesis between *looks toward Namancos* in l. 162, and *look homeward* in l. 163, and the point of this would be entirely spoilt were the clauses made to refer to different subjects. Beautiful, however, as are these verses, 161—164, they have a certain awkwardness in two ways. First, the change of subject from Lycidas to St Michael is abrupt: down to l. 160 the poet addresses Lycidas, then suddenly at l. 163 in a quasi-parenthesis he addresses the Archangel. Secondly, there has been no main verb since *let* in l. 153, and after so many dependent clauses, in most of which Lycidas is referred to, we should naturally expect a main clause still referring to him. Instead of this the poet abandons Lycidas after l. 160 and ends with two lines which sound like an after-thought.

Ruth, pity, regret, A. S. *hréow*, grief; commonly written *rewðe* in Middle E. Shakespeare has, "Spur them to ruthful work, rein them from ruth," *Troilus*, v. 3. 48, where *ruthful*=piteous. Cf. *ruthless*.

164. Alluding to the story of Arion; cf. the fifth *Elegy*, 116. The dolphin, says Cockeram, 1616, "is a friendly fish to mankind," and we know from Burton's *Anatomy* that it is, "as common experience evinceth, much affected by music:" hence it might be expected to do a friendly deed for the singer Lycidas. Indeed, as another poem in the Cambridge collection asks, why did it not save Lycidas from being drowned when the vessel struck on the rock:

"Why did not some officious dolphine hie
To be his ship and pilot through the frie,
Of wondring Nymphs; and having passed o're
Would have given more then Tagus to his shore?"

Waft i.e. carry. The word was specially used of carrying, or journeying, over the sea. Cf. 2 *Hen. VI.* IV. 1. 114, "waft me safely across the Channel." *Waftage*=passage by water, *Comedy of Errors*, IV. 1. 95. Cf. *P. L.* II. 1042.

165—185. This is the concluding passage of the monody, since the last eight lines are a kind of epilogue. We may compare the end of the *Epitaphium Damonis*. In each case sorrow dies away and gives place to consolation—that through death the lost friend has found life. The *Shepheards Cal. November*, the *Morning Muse of Thestylis*, and the *Lay of Clorinda* all close on the same note of resignation and comfort. Cf. the last-mentioned, a poem written perhaps by the Countess of Pembroke, Sidney's sister, but attributed to Spenser:

"But that immortall spirit.....
.....
O what is now of it become aread?
Ay me! can so divine a thing be dead?
Ah no! *it is not dead*, ne can it die,
But lives for aie, in blissful Paradise;"

and again:

"There liveth he in everlasting bliss,
Sweet spirit never fearing more to die."

165. Cf. "sigh no more, ladies, sigh no more," *Much Ado*, II. 3. 74.

166. "He is not dead" is the refrain of the *Adonais;* cf. l. 84, "Our love, our hope, *our sorrow, is not dead.*"

167—171. Cf. the following lines from another poem in the same volume; they are by the writer already referred to at l. 100, note:

"Thus doth the setting sunne his evening light
Hide in the Ocean, when he makes it night;
The world benighted knows not where he lies,
Till with new beams from seas he seems to rise:
So did thy light, fair soul, itself withdraw
To no dark tombe by nature's common law,
But set in waves, when yet he thought it noon,
And thence shall rise more glorious than the sunne."

Is the resemblance accidental, or had the author seen *Lycidas?*

167. *Floor*=a flat surface; here of the sea, in Spenser of the earth, *F. Q.* II. 2. 37. Cf. the *Promptorium*, "Flore (or grownde). *Area.*"

168. Mr Jerram says, "The 'daystar' may possibly, as Newton thinks, be the sun, which is called the 'diurnal star' in *P. L.* X. 1069." The context appears to me to require this interpretation; for *daystar* ='the sun' we may compare Sylvester's *Du Bartas*, "While the bright day-star rides his glorious round" (Grosart, I. 143). More commonly, however, the title was applied to the morning star, Lucifer (cf. *Isaiah* xiv. 2, margin, 2 *Peter* i. 19), and some think that Lucifer is meant here, as in the passage of Vergil (*Æneid*, VIII. 589) which Milton seems to have had in mind.

169. So Gray, of the setting sun, "To morrow he repairs his golden flood;" i.e. the flood of his light (*The Bard*, III. 3).

170. *Tricks* i.e. dresses anew; see *Il Pen.* 123. Fletcher (*Purple Island*, VII. 1) speaking of the dawn says:

"And spangled heavens in golden robes invests."

By *ore* Milton probably meant *gold*, the sense it always bears in Shakespeare; cf. *Lucrece*, 56, *Hamlet*, IV. 1. 25. Cf. Bullokar, "*Or*, Gold, or golden colour." No doubt, this was due to a mistaken belief that *ore=aurum*. Really it is Teutonic, from A. S. *ór*, unrefined metal. For *spangled* see *Nat. Ode*, 21.

171. A correspondent of *N. and Q.* I. 1. 171, quotes Crashaw, *The Weeper*, 2, "Whatever makes Heaven's forehead fine." Still closer, however, is *Coriolanus* II. 1. 57, "one that converses...with the forehead of the morning;" doubtless Milton knew the passage.

172. Milton seems to have remembered a couplet in the *Purple Island*, VI. 71:

"That he might mount to heav'n, He sunk to Hell;
That he might live, He di'd; that he might rise, He fell."

173. *St Matthew* xiv. 24—31. The appropriateness of this allusion is obvious, seeing that Lycidas had perished at sea. Another contributor

to the Cambridge collection of verses expresses the wish that Lycidas could have walked the waves like St Peter.

174. For the emphatic *other...other*, implying *better*, cf. *Com.* 612:

"Far other arms and other weapons must
Be those that quell the might of hellish charms."

Cf. Landor's "Death of Artemidora" in *Pericles and Aspasia*, LXXXV. Perhaps we are to trace here an allusion to the "living fountains of waters," *Rev.* vii. 17, and "the tree of life," *Rev.* xxii. 2. 14. Richardson cites a very similar passage in Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, 34, 72.

175. Cf. *Com.* 838, where nectar is put to the same purpose:

"And gave her to his daughters to imbathe
In nectared lavers strewed with asphodil."

In Milton *nectar* appears to be applicable to any fragrant liquid. Here it might possibly refer to the liquid of the streams mentioned in the previous line. Cf. the description of the Garden of Eden in *P. L.* IV. 240, where the brooks

"Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flowers worthy of Paradise."

Oozy, because still moist with sea-slime; see *Nat. Ode*, 124.

176. *Unexpressive.* See *Nat. Ode*, 116. *Nuptial*, referring, as Mr Jerram says, to the "marriage of the Lamb," *Rev.* xix. 6—7. Cf. perhaps the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 207, *æternum perages immortales hymenæos*, though there the allusion is more definitely to the conception of Divine Love of which Plato treats in the *Phædrus* and elsewhere, and of which Milton makes use in the allegory of Psyche at the end of *Comus*. See note on *Com.* 1003—1011.

177. See *Appendix*.

178—180. See the third *Elegy*, 59—64, and the lines *Ad Patrem*, 30—33:

Nos etiam, patrium tunc cum repetemus Olympum,
Ibimus auratis per cæli templa coronis,
Dulcia suaviloquo sociantes carmina plectro.

So the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 218, 219. Cf. Burns, *The Cotter's Saturday Night*, 136—144.

181. Cf. *Isaiah* xxv. 8, *Rev.* vii. 17, xxi. 4. In the original the act is ascribed to God Himself, but Milton has transferred it to the saints. Sylvester had anticipated Milton; cf. the *Du Bartas* (Grosart, I. 77), where he is celebrating the power of speech:

"By thee, we wipe the tears off wofull Eyes."

Pope employed the reference twice; cf. the *Messiah*, 46, the original

reading being almost a transcript of Milton's line (Elwin, I. 313), and the *Epilogue to the Satires*, with its picture of the courtier's Paradise:

"There, where no father's, brother's, friend's disgrace
Once break their rest, or stir them from their place:
But past the sense of human miseries,
All tears are wip'd for ever from all eyes;
No cheek is known to blush, no heart to throb,
Save when they lose a question or a job."

183. See *Nat. Ode*, 186. This introduction of a pagan belief, following so close upon the Scriptural sentiment and language of verses 178—181, is another example of confusion of effect.

184. *Thy=made to thee. Good* i.e. propitious: *sis bonus, o, felix-que tuis*, Verg. *Ecl.* v. 65. Cf. the *Epitaphium Damonis*, 207, 208:

quin tu, cæli post jura recepta,
Dexter ades placidusque fave.

186. "Here," says Professor Masson, "the Monody or Pastoral ends. The last eight lines of the poem do not belong to the Monody. They are not a part of the song sung by Milton in his imaginary character as the shepherd who is bewailing Lycidas, but are distinctly a stanza of Epilogue, in which Milton speaks directly, criticises what he has just written in his imaginary character, and intimates that he has stepped out of that character, and is about to turn to other occupations." Still, to some extent the close is ideal, and studied from other pastoral poems.

Properly *uncouth*, A. S. *uncúð*, =unknown, from A. S. *un*, not, and *cúð*, the past part. of *cunnan*, to know; cf. *can*, *could* etc. Bullokar, 1616, explains it by *strange*, and Minsheu, 1617, by *incognitus*. These are the meanings it almost always bears in Milton, and not impossibly he may be referring to himself as an "uncouth swain"=an unknown poet. But the word had also got something of the sense usual in modern E., viz. 'rude,' 'without culture,' and 'rude' would suit the context, the speaker throughout being a shepherd. In either case, this is the only passage in which Milton uses *uncouth* of persons.

187. Cf. *P. R.* IV. 426, 27, "Morning fair Came forth with pilgrim steps, in amice gray." Cf. *P. L.* VII. 373.

188. The *stops* are the small holes in wind instruments by which the sound is regulated. Cf. 2 *Hen. IV. Induct.* 15—17, "Rumour is a pipe...of so easy and so plain a stop;" and *Hamlet*, III. 2. 366—76, "Will you play upon this pipe...'Tis as easy as lying: govern these ventages with your finger and thumb...these are the stops." Cf. *Com.*

345. It could also be applied, in the case of string-instruments, to the regulation of musical chords by the fingers; cf. *Much Ado*, III. 2. 62, where the instrument on which Benedick is said to play is a lute. *Tender*, because affected by the delicate touch of the fingers.

Various, "in allusion to the varied strains of the elegy (at ll. 76, 88, 113, 132, 165). This almost amounts to a recognition on the part of the poet of the irregularities of style, the mixture of different and even opposing themes, which some have censured as a defect." (Jerram.)

Quills=reeds or pipes; cf. Cotgrave s.v. *twyau*, "a pipe, quill, cane, reed." It was specially used, as here, of the shepherd's pipe; cf. Spenser, *Shepheards Cal. June.* To *tune the quill* was a common phrase; cf. the MS. poem ascribed to Milton, "the sacred sisters tune their quills," and Browne's *Shepheards Pipe* (Hazlitt, II. 177). Johnson, quoting from Dryden's Vergil, *Æn.* VI. 646, where *quill* is a rendering of *pecten*, explained it here to mean the *plectrum* with which the strings of some instruments (e.g. the lute or mandolin) are struck. Cf. Minsheu: "*Quill* to play withall upon an instrument of Musicke...*plectrum*, πλῆκτρον." Cf. also a MS. Commonplace book, dated 1656, extracts from which are quoted in Furnivall's ed. of *Robert Laneham's Letter* (New Shakspere Society's *Reprints*), pp. 65—68. Describing a kind of cithern or guitar the writer says that it has wire strings and "is played vppon with a little peice of a Quill or Pen, wherewith the Stringes be touched." So of a similar instrument, "havinge the same number and the same Order of Wynd-strings, and playd vppon with a Quill, after the same order." What really makes Johnson's theory untenable is, that this *plectrum* could only be used in the case of stringed instruments, whereas according to all tradition the shepherd's instrument is the pipe.

189. *Doric*, because Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus wrote in the Doric dialect. Moschus calls Bion the Δώριος Ὀρφεύς and says that with him perished the Δωρὶς ἀοιδά—*Epitaphium Bionis*, ll. 12, 18. What Sir Henry Wotton praised most in *Comus* was a "certain Doric delicacy" in the Songs; see the Pitt Press ed. 10, 69. There is the same allusion in Matthew Arnold's *Thyrsis:*

> "O easy access to the hearer's grace
> When Dorian shepherds sang to Proserpine.
> .....
> She loved the Dorian pipe, the Dorian strain."

With poets of the last century *Doric quill* (as in Collins' *Ode on the Popular Superstitions*, II.) and *Doric oat* (cf. Mason's *Musæus*, or Warton's *Elegy*, 1751) were synonyms for 'pastoral poetry.'

190. From Vergil, *Ecl.* I. 84:

Majoresque cadunt altis de montibus umbræ.

Stretched out i.e. in their shadows; Pope's imitation of the line puts the meaning more clearly, "And the low sun had lengthened ev'ry shade," *Autumn*, 100. Spenser's *Pastorall Æglogue* has a similar close.

192. *Mantle blue.* "Blue," says Professor Hales, "was the colour of a shepherd's dress, and the poet here personates a poetic shepherd." But the traditional colour seems to have been grey. Cf. the *Shepheards Cal. Maye*, with the *Glosse*. So Greene's *Orlando Furioso:*

"As Paris, when Œnone lov'd him well,
All clad in grey, sat piping on a reed;"

and his *Friar Bacon*, III. 69:

"Proportioned as was Paris, when in grey
He courted Œnon in the Vale."

Dr Ward in his edition of *Doctor Faustus and Friar Bacon*, p. 228, gives other instances. However, blue is mentioned in the *Shepheards Cal. November*, and Browne (*Eglogue* II) speaks of an extravagant shepherd who had two suits, one of either colour (Hazlitt's ed. II. 200).

Twitched, i.e. so as to gather it about him.

193. A reminiscence of Fletcher's *Purple Island*, VI. 77:

"Home then my lambes; the falling drops eschew:
To morrow shall ye feast in pastures new."

Perhaps no line in English poetry is more frequently misquoted: even Shelley, who gives the verse correctly in his *Letter to Maria Gisborne* (the end), writes to T. L. Peacock (Nov. 18, 1818), "To morrow to fresh *fields* and pastures new." If Thomas Warton had been a greater poet we might have laid the blame on his first *Eclogue:*

"Farewell, my Alphon dear,
To distant fields, and pastures will I go."

Possibly some XVIIIth century edition of *Lycidas* may be responsible for the wrong reading.

It is usual to find here an allusion to Milton's tour in Italy. He tells us in the *Second Defence* that on the death of his mother he became anxious to travel. She died in April, 1637: the Cambridge draft of *Lycidas* is dated November, 1637. The Italian scheme, therefore, may have occurred to him before he began this poem: if so, the present verses might well be a hint at it. On the other hand, in the second of the letters written to Diodati in the autumn of the same year Milton says that he intends to take chambers in one of the Inns of Court and spend the winter in London; but he does not add a word about leaving

England. This leads one to think that so late as Sept. 23rd (the date of the letter) he had not conceived the idea of going abroad; and perhaps a few weeks later when *Lycidas* was finished the plan was still unborn. We might then interpret the verse as a vague reference to the new mode of life which—as we see from the above-mentioned letter—he contemplated adopting.

An accomplished scholar writes to me: "The reason for the shepherd's going to new haunts is that the old ones are associated with Lycidas, and so he cannot bear to feed his sheep there alone —a very just idea—and an admirable exit." I have not the least doubt that this explanation, which I have never seen in any edition of *Lycidas*, gives correctly the primary purport of the line. Nor does it seem to me inconsistent with the view that there is an underlying allusion to Milton's tour in Italy.

Another theory with reference to the line is, that it is a covert way of saying that Milton has finally separated himself from the Anglican and Court party, and means to identify himself with the Puritans. This appears to me very far-fetched.

"*Lycidas* appeals not only to the imagination, but to the educated imagination. There is no ebb and flow of poetical power as in *Comus*; it is an advance on all his previous work, and it fitly closes the poetic labour of his youth.... One of its strange charms is its solemn undertone rising like a religious chaunt through the elegiac musick; the sense of a stern national crisis in the midst of its pastoral mourning; the sense of Milton's grave force of character among the flowers and fancies of the poem; the sense of the Christian religion pervading the classical imagery. We might say that these things are ill-fitted to each other. So they would be, were not the art so fine and the poetry so overmastering; were they not fused together by genius into a whole so that the unfitness itself becomes fascination" (Stopford Brooke).

APPENDIX.

THE TEXT OF LYCIDAS.

We give here the textual variations between the original MS. of *Lycidas*, the Cambridge edition of 1638, and that published in 1645. By 'margin' are meant the marginal corrections in the MS. Some of these, as we have said in the *Introduction*, are not found in the 1638 ed.: it is fair to assume that they were made after the volume had been printed. 'Milton's copy' is the copy of the first edition (now in the University Library at Cambridge) which has a few corrections in the poet's handwriting. Differences of reading are marked by italic type:

ll. 3—5.

'I come to pluck your berries harsh and crude
before the mellowing yeare and wth forc't fingers rude
and crop yor young shatter your leaves before the mellowing yeare.'

The words in italics are crossed out. Milton may have intended the last line to run—'and crop yor young leaves wth forc't fingers rude.' Having got as far as *young* he stopped, struck out ll. 4—5, and with slight verbal changes transposed the verses so as to alter the sequence of rhymes.

8. MS. 'for *young* Lycidas;' *young* erased.

10. MS. 'he *well* knew.'

22. MS. '*To* bid;' changed to '*and* bid.'

26. MS. '*glimmering* eyelids;' corrected to *opening;* yet the 1638 ed. has *glimmering.*

30. MS. 'Oft till the ev'n-starre bright' (erased); margin, 'starre *that rose in Ev'ning bright;*' 1638 ed. again gives the earlier reading.

31. MS. '*burnisht* weele;' corrected, *westring;* but *burnisht* in 1638 ed.

39. 1638 ed. has 'Thee shepherds, thee;' i.e. the shepherds are made to mourn; perhaps a misprint.

47. MS. 'gay *buttons* weare;' *weare* changed to *beare;* finally *wardrope weare* substituted. For spelling of *wardrobe* see note on this

line. *Buttons* = buds, as in *Hamlet*, I. 3. 40, or *The Noble Kinsmen*, III. 1. 6, "gold buttons on the boughs." Fr. *bouton* means a button or a bud.

51. MS. repeats *your*, by mistake; 1638 ed. '*lord* Lycidas;' corrected in Milton's copy to '*lov'd* Lycidas.'

53. 1638 ed. '*the* old bards;' corrected in Milton's copy.

58—63. MS. had:

a. 'What could the *golden-hayrd Calliope*

b. For her inchaunting son,

c. *When shee beheld* (*the gods farre sighted bee*)

d. His goarie *scalpe rowle downe the Thracian lee:*'

a, *c*, *d* are crossed out: *b* left. After *b* (i.e. l. 59) the margin has:

e. 'Whome universal nature *might* lament

f. *And heaven and hel deplore*,

g. When his *divine head* downe the streame was sent:'

f is crossed out, also *g* as far as *downe*, and *e* left. Then on the opposite page Milton rewrote the whole passage from l. 58 just as we have it, except that, (i) after writing '*might* lament' he substituted *did;* (ii) he wrote '*divine* visage' and changed it to '*goarie* visage,' cf. *goarie* in *d supra;* (iii) after l. 59 (as it now stands) he repeated the words 'for her inchaunting son,' intending them to form a short line. No doubt, he finally rejected them because he had already used the artifice of repetition in 'The Muse herself,' ll. 58, 59.

66. 1638 ed. misprints *stridly* for *strictly*.

67. 1638 ed. 'others *do;*' altered in Milton's copy to *use*.

69. MS. '*hid in* the tangles;' margin '*or with* the tangles;' but 1638 ed. '*hid in*.'

82. 1638 ed. has the spelling *perfect*, the only place (I believe) where it occurs in Milton: *perfet* in 1645 ed.

85. MS. '*smooth* flood,' *smooth* erased; margin *fam'd*, erased; then *honour'd*.

86. MS. '*soft*-sliding;' *soft* crossed out, margin *smooth;* l. 85 was probably changed after l. 86.

103. 1638 ed. *Chamus*.

105. MS. '*scraul'd ore* with figures;' not crossed out, though *inwrought* is written in margin.

110. MS. '*Tow* massy;' cf. l. 130.

114. MS. *Anough;* 1638 ed. *enough;* 1645 ed. *anow*.

129. MS. '*nothing* sed;' changed to *little;* 1638 ed. *little;* but 1645 ed. *nothing*.

130. MS. *tow-handed;* cf. 110.

131. 1638 ed. *smites* instead of *smite.*

138. MS. '*sparely* looks;' *sparely* erased; margin *stintly*, or the word may be *faintly*, the writing being indistinct; this was erased and *sparely* re-substituted.

139. MS. *Bring*, crossed out; margin *throw.*

142—150. Of this passage the MS. presents two versions; the first, through which Milton ran his pen, reads thus:

'Bring the rathe primrose that *unwedded* dies
Colouring the pale cheeke of uninjoyd love,
And that sad flowre that strove
To write his own woes on the vermeil graine;
Next adde Narcissus yt still weeps in vaine,
The woodbine and ye pancie freakt wth jet,
The glowing violet,
The cowslip wan that *hangs his* pensive head
And every *bud* that *sorrows liverie* weares,
Let Daffadillies fill thire cups with teares,
Bid Amaranthus all his beautie shed
To strew the laureate herse'—

Underneath this follows the second version. The first four lines are identical with those in the printed editions: then the MS. continues:

'The musk-rose and the *garish columbine*
With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,
And every flower that sad *escutcheon bears;*'

the last couplet is as in the earlier passage.

Garish columbine is struck out, and *well-attir'd woodbine* (cf. the first draft) substituted. 'Escutcheon *bears*' is changed to *wears;* then, in the margin, to 'imbroidrie *bears;*' and finally to 'imbroidrie *wears.*' Against the concluding couplet—'Let Daffadillies'—Milton wrote '2. 1'; showing that the order was to be reversed, while *let* was altered to *and.*

153. MS. '*sad* thoughts;' *sad* crossed out and *fraile* written over it.

154. MS. *floods*, erased; margin *shoars.*

157. MS. '*humming* tide;' altered to *whelming* in margin of MS. and in Milton's copy; but the 1638 ed. has *humming.*

160. MS. *Corineus*, erased; margin *Bellerus.*

176. MS. '*Listening the* unexpressive;' *and heares* substituted.

177. Omitted in 1638 ed.; inserted in Milton's copy, as in 1645 ed.

191. There is some change in MS., but it is not legible.

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